Daily Report

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FBIS-LAT-92-030 *13 February 1992*

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Human Rights Groups Challenge U.S. on Haiti

FL1202171192 Bridgetown CANA in English 1624 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Feb 12, CANA—Four human rights groups from the Caribbean and the United States have called on the U.S. Government to stop its forced repatriation of Haitian refugees and to grant them "temporary protected status." The joint press statement was issued by Caribbean Rights, headquartered in Barbados; Americas Watch; the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees; and the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights—all based in New York.

The human rights organisations were reacting to the forced repatriation that started a week ago of approximately 13,000 Haitian refugees, most of them camped at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba.

They said: "Given the level of political violence and repression in Haiti, we were deeply disturbed by the Bush administration's decision to proceed with forced repatriations of Haitians after summary screening at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base.

"Our concern is only heightened by reports," said the protesting groups, "that some of the Haitians who were forcibly repatriated in November, after a summary review by immigration officials found them not to have credible claims of persecution, did in fact encounter persecution upon their return, prompting them to flee Haiti again."

The four human rights groups said that while the U.S. Supreme Court has "implicitly ruled that Haitians intercepted on the high seas have no right under U.S. law to challenge their interdiction and forced return, that does not relieve the United States of its obligations under international law."

Caribbean Rights also appealed to Caribbean Community [Caricom] governments to "move with some haste and decisiveness to influence a new approach" to end the political crisis in Haiti. The appeal has been sent to Caricom's chairman, Prime Minister Kennedy Simmonds of St. Kitts and Nevis, with a request that next week's one-day informal summit of Caricom heads of government in Jamaica come up with a plan of action, in contrast to the community's "current silence."

The Haitian crisis is rooted in the military coup of September 30, 1991, led by General Raoul Cedras, leader of the junta in Port-au-Prince, against the popularly-elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was forced into exile in Venezuela.

The Barbados-based regional Human Rights network said Wednesday that it was "perplexed and saddened by the failure of the governments of Caricom to even express their displeasure with the evident contradictions and discriminations inherent in current policies and actions by the government of the U.S.A. in its responses to the illegal, military-backed regime in Port-au-Prince, and its forced repatriation of Haitian refugees."

Central American Economy Meeting Ends 6 Feb

PA1202015392 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] The two-day Central American Economy Ministers meeting ended in San Salvador on 6 February with the firm commitment to consolidate a free trade system between Mexico and Central America. On 6 February, Central American and Mexican delegates discussed trade and private sector investment. The event was held as a follow up to the January 1991 meeting in Mexico City between the Central American presidents and Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

The agreements reached during the two days of meetings show that the integration of the region's six countries into a free trade relationship with Mexico will soon be a reality.

[Begin recording, Jaime Serra Puche, Mexican secretary of commerce and industrial development] The document sets forth seven work plans:

1. Commercial liberalization
2. Financial integration
3. Development of export products in Central America
4. Investment promotion
5. Cooperation with the private sector
6. Energy supply
7. Technical training and improvement [end recording]

Jaime Serra Puche said there can be no competitiveness in a market where there is no economic stability, especially when there are no clear rules and policies to establish such integration.

[Begin Serra Puche recording] Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani said all the Central American countries and Mexico have made internal economic reforms that have basically transformed these economies into market economies. Through this integration system we will unite our market economies, which will send the right messages to the region's representatives, who will in turn make the right decisions. [end recording]

President Cristiani, in his closing speech, said the fact that the Central American countries are willing to work together with the Mexican Government on economic issues is truly encouraging. It is an effort that Mexico's private sector is sure to join. The president said we cannot work separately in facing the new regional economic systems, which are now working as blocs.

[Begin Cristiani recording] The tendency to form large economic blocs, which imply widespread economic effects, is evident. The EEC, whose goal is to be united by 1992; the North American free trade zone; and the countries of South East Asia are also pointing in that direction.

Faced with this reality, it is difficult to conceive how the Central American countries would individually face these new challenges, which are bringing about a new form of entry into the world economy. The small town attitude of the past must be overcome and replaced by a modern concept of integration and trade at all levels. [end recording]

These countries seek to create a marketplace with 115 million people, President Cristiani said. The Central American and Mexican peoples must fully agree that it will be impossible to emerge from economic underdevelopment until such trade exchange is achieved.

Amazon Summit Opens, To Study Rio 92 Proposals

PY1102115892 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2300 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] The countries of the Amazon region have asked the developed countries for technological and economic aid to guarantee the preservation of the environment. Six presidents are meeting as of today in Manaus to study proposals for the UN Conference on Environment and Development, known as Rio 92.

Representatives of the eight Amazon countries were welcomed by a different President Fernando Collor, different because he was wearing sports clothes instead of the traditional suit and tie. He looked less formal and in better harmony with his Latin American peers. Proof of this could be seen immediately. During the meeting, talks focused on a single proposal for the UN conference. In the proposal, the eight Amazon countries sent a message to developed countries: If they are to preserve the environment, developing countries such as Brazil need financial and technological aid.

[Begin Collor recording] Super rich countries—which are concerned but not yet committed—should admit the tremendous damage that they have caused to the earth, and consequently to themselves and to future generations throughout the world. They know that there are no more isolated regions in the world. [end recording]

President Collor later met with Venezuelan Foreign Minister Armando Duran, who handed him a letter from President Carlos Andres Perez. In his letter, the Venezuelan president apologized for missing the meeting. He explained that he was unable to attend due to the political instability created by the coup attempt last week. President Perez made no reference to the incidents on the Brazilian border between gold prospectors and the National Guard. Federal Police Director Romeu Tuma announced, however, that the prospectors have already begun to leave Venezuelan territory voluntarily.

[Begin recording] [Tuma] There are 32 prospectors in Catrimani awaiting help to leave.

[Reporter] Will they leave voluntarily?

[Tuma] They will leave voluntarily. There were about 600 at one time but this has now significantly dropped. [end recording]

Collor's Opening Speech

PY1202163492 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 11 Feb 92 p 13

["Text" of Brazilian President Fernando Collor's opening speech at the Amazon Pact summit in Manaus, Brazil on 10 February]

[Text] From the social viewpoint, we cannot endure a polluted planet or an unfair world.

The essence of our quest for a new model of the relationship between human beings and nature lies in this short phrase.

Gone are the days when the need to grow prevailed over any environmental concern. The challenge now for the people and governments of the world is to create the necessary conditions so that progress and the preservation of the environment may coexist harmoniously.

The sustained development process, which involves environmental aspects, must be radically different to the voracious growth process inherited from the industrial revolution which believed that natural resources were endless.

We must stop the depredatory and inhuman use of natural resources.

We must ponder in a profound and frank manner on the absolutely nefarious consequences of maintaining an economic model that crystallizes an objectionable division between the ways and quality of life.

We must admit that in our hemisphere poverty lies at the root of the most serious environmental problems.

Therefore, we must have the stamina to discuss new models.

The future lies in clear and determined political decisions that may open paths for real changes.

We already know the great objectives:

Each man, each society, each nation must be given the economic and technical resources to overcome the unconscious forms of devastation that are provoked by poverty and that nurtures poverty.

The overdeveloped world must stop conscious forms of devastation so that we may reach determined, innovative agreements to preserve our natural heritage to its full extent.

Messrs. Presidents:

This is a working meeting during which we will discuss the position the eight countries represented here will

share during the UN Conference on Environment and Development to be held in Rio de Janeiro just four months from now.

For the first time, and with justification at the end of this century, the international community will fully discuss the problem of respecting nature, relative to the various aspects of development.

We will meet in Rio de Janeiro to comprehensively discuss the exploitation of the earth, the fauna and flora, the use of all energy sources, their impact on the atmosphere, the use of surface and underground waters, and the impact on the seas and their resources, all from the viewpoint that the human being should be the key issue of any environmental concern.

Within this framework, global development has two outstanding characteristics: comprehension and inequality.

The first characteristic ranges from the manipulation of cells to interference in outer space; above all, it gives us hope that the human being's creativity may serve ethical goals.

On the other hand, the overall image of development at this time reveals regrettable inequality.

More than 30 years of diagnosis and effort has yielded very little besides a generalized sense of frustration.

Here, in this very region, the dramatic and inhuman situation of poverty cannot last because it even affects our children, hurting our most basic ethical principles.

In addition to being unfair, the gap between levels of development represents an inefficient way of administering the planet's natural resources.

Super rich countries, which are concerned but not yet committed, should admit the tremendous damage they have caused to the earth, and consequently to themselves and to future generations throughout the world.

They know there are no more isolated regions in the world.

The less access poor countries have to capital, technology, and better living standards, the more likely they are to devastate the environment and thus contribute to an overall imbalance.

The world economic process is definitely changing from a situation where the gains of the few did not seem affected by the stagnation or collapse of the many, to another situation in which either everyone wins or everyone looses.

The new development model, which we want sustained, does not entail either a denial of the economic growth no does it deprive the people from living in comfort. This model guarantees worthy living standards for everyone in the world, now and in the future.

It also guarantees a worthy life for our Indian tribes whose culture and way of life we must decidedly defend.

Messrs. Presidents:

Brazil is deeply honored to receive your excellencies here in Manaus.

I, personally, wish to thank you for your sense of friendship which brought you to this debate so necessary for our continent and our world.

In our capacity as leaders of democratic countries, as Latin Americans, as leaders sensitive to the environmental and human problems, as leaders engaged in the task of repairing our peoples' social debt, we share special responsibilities at the Rio 92 conference.

The fact that we are Amazon region countries is not what unites us. Our relationship covers a wide scope of issues which go far beyond this region.

Moreover, there is no denying the important role the Amazon occupies in international debates. The wealth and complex nature of this ecosystem justify the attention of the scientific world and public opinion.

The countries that have sovereign rights over the various parts of the Amazon constantly note the need for international cooperation to implement the policies we draw up conscientiously.

Messrs. Presidents: The purposes of this meeting must be of a universal nature and focused on global subjects.

We feel the urge to unite our voices because in a coordinated manner we will broaden our contribution and influence on the decisions which, together with the chiefs of states or governments of the entire international community, will be made at the Rio 92 Conference.

Our current effort is a sign of the sense of responsibility we have before our people and the remaining countries of this planet that, together, are responsible for a healthy environment that is fair for the social viewpoint.

We must fulfill our duty with dignity.

Messrs.. Presidents:

Rio 92 may become a turning point in international cooperation if it comes up with a responsible, consequent, and ethical analysis regarding the quality of the North-South relationship.

We expect the community of nations to make an extra effort to negotiate compulsory regulations.

We want guarantees that the developing countries will have access to new "clean" technologies that will preserve the environment as well as additional financing, granted in appropriate terms, to allow them to adjust to the higher standards necessary for the preservation of the environment and, obviously, to implement sustainable development models.

The new international order will reflect the victory of democracy and, based on broad participation in the decision-making process of significant international issues. One of its objectives will be a decided cooperation policy. Only thus will we able to safeguard development and overcome the unfairness which is at the root of every conflict.

A future in peace lies in the fact that all leaderships of the world, governments and society, accept this objective and work to achieve it. After all, the survival of mankind and the very planet is at stake.

Therefore, I reiterate my invitation to all chiefs of states and governments from every corner of the planet to attend the Rio conference.

Your participation will guarantee a greater political force to the decisions we may adopt. Brazil awaits all of you with open arms.

May God help us!

Manaus Declaration Issued

PY1102145492 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Report from Manaus by Cristina Indio]

[Text] The presidents of the Amazon Pact member countries have ended their summit and issued the Manaus Declaration. In the declaration, they express support for the harmonious coexistence of regional development and environmental protection. Moreover, they note that without the support of rich countries, they will be unable to control the ecological situation. This is the position they will present at the Rio 92 conference [UN Conference on Environment and Development].

The declaration, which is divided in 11 subjects, upholds that the (?exploitation) of the rain forest must placate the achievement of economic development for the benefit of society with environment protection.

Brazilian Foreign Minister Francisco Rezek said all this must be achieved through the foreign contributions.

[Begin Rezek recording] Above all, these countries are zealously trying to achieve development for their respective societies for the benefit of that extensive group of people who have no access to a dignified standard of life or a good economic level.

We wish to promote development but not at the expense of the environment, that is, allowing the people to achieve development but without causing irreparable damage to the environment in the medium-term.

In view of this, we will defend the theory of sustained development at the Rio 92 Conference. We will request a policy of shared costs. [end recording]

The declaration also centers on issues such as the degradation of soil, the conscientious use of water resources, and the use of proper technology in the handling of toxic and dangerous wastes. It also defends a new attitude toward international cooperation to achieve a harmonious coexistence of development and the protection of the environment.

* Business Conditions in Maracaibo Described

92SM0239A Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 14 Jan 92 Section D p 8

[Report by Alonso Zambrano; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Maicao, a city in La Guajira on Colombia's border with Venezuela north of the state of Zulia, is considered a "legal and tax limbo," whose money supply is slippery as an eel, evading the economies of both these Andean nations.

Maracaibo. Maicao, located more than an hour's travel time—120 km by road—from Zulia's capital [Maracaibo] is the second town in Colombia's La Guajira department; the department's capital, Riohacha, is located to the north, near the Caribbean.

Every day thousands of people converge on this dusty, disorderly, and chaotic (in terms of urban planning) town. They come from various parts of Colombia and Venezuela, as well as Aruba and Curacao, primarily to buy clothes, most of which are from Taiwan, and household appliances, which presumably come in as contraband from a variety of international ports.

Business in Maicao is essentially operated and directed by Syrians and Lebanese. The few Colombians involved only work as "colmenores," street vendors or informal merchants, who operate in alleys, on sidewalks and street corners, offering the same lines of products but in economically saturated spaces.

Along with this urban commercial activity, contraband is sent to Venezuela, the Dutch Antilles, and other provinces in Colombia.

The government, the state, and the formally established economic community consider Maicao a sort of "legal and tax limbo," whose money supply is slippery as an eel, evading the productive systems of Colombia and Venezuela, which have signed the free trade agreement as members of the Andean Pact.

Maicao, La Guajira Department's second city in economic importance, is in theory a free trade zone, but in practice both the Colombian and Venezuelan authorities confiscate the products acquired there if they exceed the permitted quota or are not declared at customs. Venezuela performs customs checks at its auxiliary customs posts in Guarero, Municipio Paez de La Guajira, and Colombia conducts sporadic checks through national customs posts on highways in La Guajira department, especially along what is known as the Caribbean highway

linking Maicao and Riohacha with the Atlantic Coast departments: Barranquilla, Magdalena, Bolivar, Cordoba and Cesar.

In December, the end of Maicao's big trade season, Colombian customs officials seized merchandise purchased by Venezuelans in this town.

This confiscation took place on the Maicao-Paraguachon road, near the the border marker, almost in the presence of Venezuelan officials. Maicao business associations have filed protests with the Colombian authorities about this action.

In some cases a method called the "hammer" is used; this is a violent collection of payment before allowing passage.

Another factor in the Colombian-Venezuelan binational border trade near Maicao is that the merchandise that enters Maicao pays no taxes. Therefore, Colombian customs agents seize products from Colombians from other departments in the interior, as soon as they cross the La Guajira borders.

When it is not customs, then the "land pirates" get into the act. They wait for cars and buses to go by and attack them.

The foreign currency that Maicao generates does not stay in either Colombia or Venezuela. It is sent in bolivars to Venezuela, and from there is transferred in dollars to Miami, Aruba, Taiwan, and the other international ports from where the merchandise—clothes and household appliances—sold in this Colombian border town is shipped.

Now that the free trade system is operational, the Gaviria administration is studying the Maicao case thoroughly. It has ordered the Ministry of Foreign Trade to conduct an urgent study. This is a new ministry recently established by the Colombian chief of state; it is taking over functions from both the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Government.

Even though Maicao has no hotel or communications infrastructure, trade between Colombia and Venezuela through this town is estimated to be approximately 1.2 billion pesos a day. This means 120 million bolivars a day during the peak season of October, November, and December.

During this three-month period, between 7,000 and 8,000 Venezuelans [per day] converge on Maicao, according to statistics from the immigration department of the Administrative Department of Security and the security services of the National Police, the counterpart of the Venezuelan National Guard. The slow season (January through March) has now begun, and as of Friday, 10 January, the influx of Venezuelans in Maicao was down to 2,000 to 3,000 people a day.

The free trade system implemented betweeen Colombia and Venezuela on 1 January 1992 has gotten off to a slow start.

It has been reported that Colombia has been sending to Venezuela from this border town basic consumer goods produced at a lower cost than in Venezuela. These products, therefore, cost Venezuelan consumers less.

Maicao has a variable population: it has 70,000 permanent residents; a floating population of 30,000 individuals who make up this informal market, and a fluctuating population created by mining activity in the Cerrejon coal mines. Colombia ships coal from these mines to Europe and other international markets.

Cuba

Fidel Castro Meets With Iranian Deputy Minister

FL1202132292 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro met yesterday with Manuchehr Motaki, deputy foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who relayed a message from Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. During the meeting, which was conducted in a friendly atmosphere, the two leaders exchanged views on the international situation, the continuing development of bilateral ties, and other subjects of interest.

Iran Reaffirms Wish To Strengthen Ties

FL1302031992 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] International news agencies have reported that Iranian First Vice President Ebrahim Habibi reaffirmed his country's wish to strengthen its ties with Cuba during a meeting with Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Alcibiades Hidalgo in Tehran. According to what took place in the meeting, both leaders viewed as positive the current relations between their countries and agreed that they are open to a substantial increase. Hidalgo was also received by the Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

Alcibiades Hidalgo presides over a Cuban delegation that participated in the festivities marking the 13th anniversary of the 11 February 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Castro Sends Message to Tunisian President

FL1202144992 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, president of the Republic of Tunisia, has received a written message from Cuban President Fidel Castro. The message, the contents of which was not disclosed, was carried by Jose Ramon Fernandez, vice president of the Cuban Council of Ministers. After the Tuesday meeting in Tunis between Ben Ali and Fernandez, the latter stated that they discussed international issues. He added that the current developments demand that Third World countries coordinate their respective positions to strengthen their unity and preparedness to defend their causes.

Jose Ramon Fernandez Cited on Arab States Tour

FL1302020592 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Cuban Vice President Jose Ramon Fernandez has described the tour through Tunisia, Syria, Iran, and Libya as very important to relations between Cuba and the Arab states. In comments made to the media in Tunisia, Fernandez said the delegation's visit, which he headed, was another step in the strengthening and development of ties between Third World countries and members of the Nonaligned Movement. He added that the two-week tour opened opportunities to expand cooperation between Cuba and the visited countries in several fields where a noticeable amount of solidarity exists through the island's official channels and the people.

Minister Melendez Speaks at UNCTAD Meeting

FL1302025092 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Today Cuba stressed that the Eighth UN Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] Meeting should support the consolidating and strengthening process of regional and subregional cooperation and integration among developing countries. In his remarks before the meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, Ernesto Melendez, minister president of Cuba's State Committee for Economic Cooperation, said it is feasible to promote the second round of negotiations on the global system of commercial preferences between those states. Melendez said the establishment of a fair and equal free market without discriminatory policies would contribute to increase Third World countries's ability to import.

Regarding the draft of the final document of the GATT's Uruguay Round, the Cuban representative said if the document does not completely consider the essential interests of underdeveloped countries, Cuba believes it is useful as a base for negotiation. Melendez pointed out that the economic growth of Third World countries barely increased 1 percent annually in the eighties. This widened the existing gap with industrialized countries.

Melendez also charged that the foreign debt is the main economic scourge of underdeveloped nations. The debt per capita surpasses $300. Despite this, the transfer of net capital to the industrialized world continues. He added that the solution to the problems of Third World countries requires active measures in solving the debt problems. Melendez said the current financial difficulties for development are so real that even the monetary institutions and international agencies acknowledge that without investments in human development there are no chances for economic growth.

Melendez pointed out that this strategy is the one that Cuba has been using for 33 years under constant pressure from the United States in the economic, political, ideologic[al], and military fields. The Cuban representative said it was precisely that hostility that prevented the holding of the Eighth UNCTAD Meeting in Cuba as most of the international community wanted. Melendez asserted that the current world situation has forced Cuba to search for new ways of association abroad and that the interest of businessmen is evident. Melendez stated that in Cuba there are approximately 50 associations with foreign capital in different fields, and that more than 100 new projects are being negotiated.

Cambodia Signs Economic, Scientific Agreement

FL1302021892 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Cuba and Cambodia have signed an economic and scientific-technical cooperation agreement in Havana. The document was signed by Cuban Communications Minister Manuel Castillo Rebasa and Cambodian Ambassador Hing Smoel. The bilateral agreement establishes cooperation on agriculture and fishing matters and provides for Cuban assistance in the fields of health and education. Cambodian currency and stamps are printed in Cuba. This is another example of existing relations between the Cuban and Cambodian people.

Civil Aeronautics Agreement Signed With Austria

FL1202225392 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2205 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Cuba and Austria have signed a bilateral civil aeronautics agreement in Vienna which will allow the establishment of regular flights between the two countries. The document was signed by Cuban Ambassador Javier Rosales and (Guido Fritz Adams), general director of civil aeronautics in Austria. Marialisa Casado, legal director of the Cuban Civil Aeronautics Institute, was also present at the ceremony.

Transportation Workers Relocated in New Jobs

FL1202225192 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2048 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] More than 18,000 transportation workers throughout the country have been relocated to different jobs as a result of the reduction of cargo and passenger service due to fuel shortages. The relocated workers are reinforcing the development of self-sufficiency food programs in enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Transportation [Mitrans]. They support agriculture plans wherever they live.

Fernando Perez, secretary general of the transportation union, stated that some of these workers have been assigned to maintaining equipment not in use, and others work as custodians for loading and unloading merchandise centers and railway transportation centers. Relocations in the Mitrans includes the reappearance of conductors and inspectors in buses and trains to improve the quality of service and safety of passengers and cargo vehicles in transit.

Inter-Caribbean Affairs

Caricom's Rainford on Intraregional Trade

FL1302121392 Bridgetown CANA in English 2212 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 12, CANA—The determination to examine restrictions on intra-Caribbean Community [Caricom] trade during a council of common market ministers meeting opening here Thursday, comes in the context of a slight decline in trade within the region for the first six months of last year, according to Caricom Secretary General Roderick Rainford. Rainford, speaking to reporters here, said that after four consecutive years of growth since 1987, intra-regional trade declined by just under 1 per cent for the six month period, compared with the corresponding period in the year before.

"It is very difficult to say what precisely the full picture of 1991 is going to be.... But we don't hold out a lot of hope for growth on a full year basis," he said.

Rainford observed that since the last council meeting in October, there had only been "modest movement" on the agreed programme for the removal of trade barriers within the region. Thus far, he pointed out, only eight Caricom member countries have implemented the Common External Tariff (CET) which all had agreed on. They are Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, and Belize. St. Lucia, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts-Nevis, and Montserrat who are yet to implement the CET, will report to the common market council regarding their plans, the secretary general said.

Antigua and Barbuda and Barbados will also report on their failure so far to act on the Caricom rules of origin. The other 10 members have so far fulfilled their obligations.

The council ministers, Rainford said, would have to examine "the practicalities" of a single market, which he stressed would have to embrace such components as the unrestricted movement of goods, the CET, the free movement of capital, the free movement of labour, free trade in services, and the right of establishment among others.

He noted there were even constitutional hindrances since the wording of the original Caricom treaty actually provided against the "critical issue" of unrestricted movement of labour within Caricom. "The implicit policy move in the community now is that it has moved beyond that provision," he said.

Questioned about the pace of implementation within Caricom in the context of recent criticisms of regional heads by West Indian Commission Chairman Sir Shridath Ramphal, Rainford pointed out that the general understanding "was that all these things would not be done overnight but you needed where action was lagging to take immediate steps to get them going."

On the other hand, he identified "hassle free travel" as one area in which prompt action could have been taken by Caricom governments. Grenada and Trinidad and Tobago, he observed, had already moved to facilitate travel by Caricom residents without passports to those countries, while Jamaica and Guyana appeared to be taking steps in that direction.

Rainford said other issues to be discussed at the council meeting includes Venezuela's offer of one-way duty free access for Caricom goods and Caricom's approach to the Enterpise of the Americas Initiative (EAI). The secretary general said the common market council would enter into specific negotiations with the U.S. on trade relations under the EAI in March or April. He said the composition of Caricom's negotiating team had already been decided on.

A report on the recent Caricom-Central America ministerial meeting held in Honduras would also be received by the council, Rainford said.

Dominica

DLP Leader on U.S. Repatriation of Haitians

FL1302131192 Bridgetown CANA in English 2130 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Roseau, Dominica, Feb 12, CANA—Opposition Dominica Labour Party [DLP] leader Michael Douglas has described as "shameful" the United States' policy of repatriating Haitian refugees. It was wrong to send back to their politically troubled country people who were obviously being persecuted economically and politically, Douglas said.

"It is shameful that people are being treated this way.... Where is the milk of human kindness flowing from the veins of the United States Government to one of its neighbours in this region," he asked?

The U.S. recently started repatriating hundreds of Haitians who fled their country in the aftermath of last September's coup d'etat that toppled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Douglas said Washington was treating Caribbean states like children, if it expected them to buy its argument that a desperate military government seeking legitimacy at any cost, would not victimise the fleeing Haitian people who allege the administration in Port-au-Prince was engaging in atrocities. "Clearly, people are going to lose their lives," Douglas said of those being repatriated. He said the U.S. action had racist motivations.

Haiti

Deputy Reports Army Not Opposed To Negotiations

FL1202203392 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Most Haitian parliamentarians consider this week the most favorable period for resuming negotiations between the OAS and the parties concerned with the country's political crisis. On that score, an important meeting, lasting four hours, was held at the Haitian Armed Forces General Headquarters between military officials and Chamber of Deputies leaders. Participating in the meeting were the commander in chief of the Army, General Raoul Cedras; his assistant, General Jean-Claude Duperval; the chief of the Army General Staff, General Philippe Biamby; Chamber of Deputies President Alexandre Medard; and Deputy Duly Brutus.

According to Deputy Alexandre Medard, the Army General Staff is not opposed to a negotiated solution to the country's crisis. On 17 February, Senate President Dejean Belizaire will hold a closed meeting with the deputies before making a public declaration. The Senate should meet within two days at the latest to discuss the resumption of negotiations. According to our sources, the negotiations among heads of parliament, prospective Prime Minister Rene Theodore, and Father Aristide are slated to take place in Washington.

A deputy wishing to remain anonymous told us that the difficulty now is to succeed in making the grass-roots Army understand that the return of the deposed president does not mean that Father Aristide will return to the country immediately. The deputy added that he feels that the ousted president should, in fact, wait a significant amount of time before doing so.

Deputy Duly Brutus believes that it is time for divisions within the country to mend. For this reason, he sees the choice of Rene Theodore as new head of government as one which would allow reconciliation to occur in Haiti.

Yet another parliamentarian expressed the hope that both partisans and opponents of the negotiated solution will stop putting pressure on parliament. He also criticized certain Aristide statements for complicating efforts being made to find a solution to the country's political crisis.

Arbitration Committee Findings Presented

FL1202223992 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Philippe Bien-Aime—recorded; italicized passages in French]

[Excerpts] The Haitian parliament, along with all important Haitian institutions, will vanish if deputies and senators dare to make a decision not in compliance with the Haitian Constitution. This statement was made by General Raoul Cedras and the Army General Staff to the Senate Arbitration Committee. The arbitration committee had been meeting with various sectors of national life in an attempt to find a political platform allowing for a resolution of the Haitian crisis.

According to committee reporter Senator Rony Mondestin's presentation to parliament, Gen. Raoul Cedras favors a negotiated solution, with the formation of a national coalition government; that is, a government in which all sectors are represented, and for which the ministerial cabinet itself would choose a prime minister. Let us listen to Senator Rony Mondestin.

[Mondestin]*Gen. Cedras clearly stated that if parliament dares to make an anti-constitutional decision, it—that is our parliament—will vanish, dragging with it all other institutions of capital importance to the country. He lingered over the proposed solutions: either the return or the nonreturn of Father Aristide, meaning either a negotiated solution or the holding of elections. Concerning the negotiated solution, he clearly made us understand that he is not opposed, but that he is still apprehensive about guarantees that all the parliament's actions [words indistinct] during the crisis and for a redress for all the damages caused by the embargo. In conclusion, Gen. Cedras reduced the concept of a negotiated solution to having a national coalition government, the ministers of which would propose a prime minister.*

[Bien-Aime] Lieutenant Gen. Cedras, who supports elections as the solution to the country's crisis, added that the Army will not support any solution that will create problems within Haitian society. He urged parliamentarians to think about the solution they propose from the point of view of a potential civil war.

[Mondestin]*He said that if nothing results from these negotiations, as was the case during the past four months, the elections seem to be the means to solve the crisis. Another member of the General Staff remarked that it is materially impossible to satisfy everybody. Our mission consists of supporting a solution that would provoke the least possible impact because, among the proposed solutions, there are some that could give rise to civil war.*

[Bien-Aime] Various sectors, including the Supreme Audit Court, the Association of Independent Journalists, the trade unions, and political parties, appeared before the Senate committee. In its deposition, the Haitian Christian Democratic Party ruled out the idea of negotiations for Father Aristide's return to power. Union of Haitian Constitutionalists leader Jean-Claude Roy does not agree with that opinion. According to him, Father Aristide should return to the country as president, but should be tried before the High Court of Justice.

The Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti, headed by Marc Bazin, opts for Father Aristide's return to power. According to the party leader, it should be a negotiated or conditional return. Dejean Belizaire's National Patriotic Movement of 28 November agrees with the idea of Father Aristide's return to power, but believes that there must be a compromise government which includes the participation of Father Aristide, President Nerette, and a national consensus prime minister.

The Mobilization for National Development Party, the Haitian Party of God, and the Army General Staff all favor elections. Julio Larosiliere, president of the Senate committee in charge of meeting with the various sectors, in his recommendations to the assembly of senators, advocated the idea of a national pact for democracy, and the establishment of a democracy that joins pluralism, institutionalism, and participation. He asked for a national consensus, meaning an essential reconciliation for the survival of the nation. The realization of that consensus presupposes the definition of the nature of that consensus, the definition of the means of [word indistinct] and the establishment of specific elements for the expression of that consensus. [passage omitted]

The Senate Arbitration Committee is composded of three people: Senator Julio Larosiliere, president; Senator Rony Mondestin, reporter; and Senator Eddy Dupiton, member. The assembly of senators will meet in 48 hours to present their opinions on this report.

Senate Favors Consensus; Deputies Seek Guarantees

FL1302005992 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Parliament will continue discussing the Haitian political crisis. The Senate Arbitration Committee has proposed a consensus, beginning with a national conference during which political parties, including those not represented in parliament, can participate. Meanwhile, the deputies are asking the prime minister designate for definite guarantees before ratifing his nomination. Rothchild has the following report.

[Begin Rothchild recording] The Chamber of Deputies must vote today on a five-point draft resolution prepared by the special commission. This project advocates the resumption of negotiations, under the auspices of the OAS, to find a solution to the Haitian crisis. The text, which is due to be voted on today, asks the prime minister designate to provide some guarantees before his ratification can occur, such as the lifting of the embargo [as heard]; recognition of actions taken by parliament since the events of 30 September; a commitment from the OAS to finance a national reconstruction program; technical support from the OAS for the new government, within the bounds of such democratic institutions as the Army, the police, parliament, the judicial system, and the Permanent Electoral Council. The fifth point states that the new government should be in charge of implementing adequate structures to obtain a stable return of constitutional order in Haiti.

In the upper chamber, the Senate Arbitration Committee finally released its report after almost two weeks of work. The committee members publicly disagreed with proposals to get the country out of its crisis. At the opening of the session on Tuesday, the committee members were opposed by acrimonious discussions.

This report basically advocates a negotiated solution to the crisis and the pursuit of negotiations. Three points caught the senators' attention when they reviewed the text. They are: the solution to the crisis, the future of democracy, and the protection of national sovereignty. This report also points out that all the sectors consulted favor political democracy, good economic management, and on the socio-historical side, a more or less emphatic reform. The document also recommends that the two extremes be eliminated. The senators cited the case of El

Salvador as an example, where a peaceful agreement was signed between the government and the guerillas after some 10 years of civil war. According to committee members, the Senate meetings demonstrate that a pluralist and emancipated Haiti must create some form of political relationship among groups with different visions, between the established power and the opposition, which will require a permanent dialogue. The Senate committee report addressed the need for a large national consensus and a depersonalization of the crisis. To reach this goal, it is necessary to define the nature of this consensus; the means of its implementation; and most of all, the instrumentation of specific elements of this consensus' expression. [passage omitted].

Just before closing the session yesterday, the senators decided to combine these different proposals, with the priority still being the immediate resumption of negotiations. [end recording]

Student Beaten for Alleged Aristide Support

FL1302002292 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] In an incident yesterday at the Lycee Firmin, a student was severely beaten by three civilians carrying weapons who were loitering near the school. According to the victim's school friends who were contacted by phone, the incident occurred during recess at 1030 local on 11 February. Upon leaving the school by the main gate to go buy some food, the three students were chased by three armed individuals, who harrassed them with questions, accusing them of being partisans of the ousted president.

According to one of the students, Resilien, he was hit and taken by car to La Saline Boulevard before being released. This is the second incident at the Lycee Firmin. The first occurred last week when policemen entered the building searching for leaflets distributed by the students.

CHADEL Reacts To Expulsion From OMCT

FL1302000892 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The Haitian Center for the Defense of Public Freedom [CHADEL] says the contents of the letter from the World Organization Against Torture [OMCT] comes as no surprise. In a letter to the OMCT, CHADEL leaders say that many of these organizations are instruments of a new form of imperialism, using the concept of human rights to impose the political wishes of developed countries upon Third World countries.

According to the letter, Jean-Jacques Honorat has more respect for the principles of human rights than the OMCT leaders, based on his decision to play a political role in the country despite the fact that he would have to leave CHADEL, an organization he had personally founded. The CHADEL leaders remind the OMCT that Mr. Honorat has gone to the current government in order to defend his country's right to exist. They refer to the violations of human rights during the seven-month term of the ousted president. They further state that Honorat has not given his loyalty to any power. He is simply defending his country against the racism of the OAS and the injustice of a segment of the international community.

CHADEL leaders say that Mr. Honorat is leading a government that has not arrested or persecuted anyone, and adds that in view of this organization's inability to see the truth, they are relieved that they are no longer part of the OMCT. They thank the OMCT for having done nothing to uphold respect for human rights in Haiti.

Jamaica

Netherlands To Forgive $14.3 Million Debt

FL1302122392 Bridgetown CANA in English 2117 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 12, CANA—Jamaica is to receive U.S. 14.3 million dollar in debt forgiveness from the Netherlands. This represents the remission of principal and interest on a number of loans due from June 1 to December 31, 1991. Jamaica, with an international debt of just over U.S. 4 billion dollars, still owes the Netherlands U.S. 117 million dollars.

The Netherlands ambassador designate Armand Brunings told Finance and Planning Minister Hugh Small, Tuesday, that the debt forgiveness was based on his government's appreciation for "Jamaica's sustained efforts.... to implement its policy of restructuring the economy, despite the difficult economic conditions the country is confronted with."

Brunings said it had been previously agreed that the Netherlands would "consolidate" Jamaica's debt for the U.S. 14.3 million dollars within the framework of Paris Club negotiations held in July 1991. However, he said after assessing Jamaica's performance on the implementation of its structural adjustment programme, the Netherlands Government decided instead to remit all payments for June to December.

Small expressed Jamaica's "profound gratitude for the significant relief" saying it came at a time when the country was undergoing severe strain. The government, he pointed out, was in the final stages of putting together its 1992-93 budget, in addition to finalizing its letter of intent for the approval of the International Montetary Fund for a stand-by agreement.

"And when a country like the Netherlands tells the world that it appreciates that Jamaica is soldiering on in difficult circumstances, it is the kind of signal that will influence other countries, and help investors to feel more confident about the future of the Jamaican economy," Small said.

El Salvador

FMLN Leader Handal Talks About Reconstruction

PA1302024792 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 1730 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Interview with Jorge Shafik Handal, member of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, General Command by an unidentified reporter at the Jose Simeon Canas Central American University in San Salvador; date not given; during the "In-Depth" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Commander Handal, people increasingly believe that the national reconstruction process should include, in addition to the rehabilitation or the recovery of infrastructure damaged by the war, national reconciliation, especially the country's economic reactivation. As for the latter, what kind of economic program will the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] support? In other words, which economic development centers will the FMLN support in the next few years?

[Handal] We are fundamentally interested in supporting a development that can benefit the people. We want an economic development center with a broad social base. The agreements that have been signed lay the groundwork for this. Whether or not this economic development center emerges will depend on the type of energy, determination, and creativity with which these broad based social sectors take these agreements in hand.

We have stated in the agreements our commitment to support the creation of enterprises, our commitment to transfer land by means of agrarian reform and in conflict areas. We have made commitments to respect the plural nature of land ownership. In our country many people favor the neoliberal model and keep repeating the principles of free enterprise and private initiative. We have said: if the private sector is defined as being the opposite of the state, we agree. These people must understand that private property is not only the property of the big landowner. It is also the property of medium- and small-landowners. We are talking about the individual property of peasants and craftsmen, and of small enterprises. It is also the property owned by associations like cooperatives and other business associations that may emerge.

If we are to proclaim free enterprise, free market, then we should talk about all these other forms of property. The capital market or access to credit must not be shut off to these people. They must all have free access, all of them. They must have free access to markets. We must put an end to market monopolies, as is stated in an article of the Constitution. Antitrust measures must be implemented so the country's economy can be modernized with a broad base. That is our viewpoint and where we are going to aim our efforts.

[Reporter] Is this not an uphill battle, much tougher than the one you carried out to reform the Armed Forces?

[Handal] That is going to be tested. I can say we have enough energy, enough determination, enough national and international support to make this effort. I also believe— because of contacts we have made with top business groups in the last few months—that we have already begun to change our mentality. Of course there are some very small groups that are holding out, that want to preserve the past. Unfortunately they have economic power and are aggressive. But in this great enterprise to transform the country with different methods, this good mentality has spread, otherwise we would not have been able to sign the agreements. Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani and large segments of the ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] support it. We must remember the days when ARENA used to shout: Negotiation is treason! As you see, it was their government that actually negotiated.

Cristiani has earned propaganda credit. We are not here to deny him merit but this is not a personal problem. The problem is that by the time the ARENA government came to power the revolutionary war process was so far along that the main elements of the counterinsurgency strategy had been defeated. The government was powerless. A decision had to be made. Either they sought a negotiated peace or they would have to wait and witness greater deterioration of all orders of society, especially economic. This strategy was so worn out that even the unconditional support of U.S. policy was worn out.

For example, ideas like these were worn out. Besides specific military ideas, the basic counterinsurgency war strategy idea the Kissinger Commission had proposed years previously became worn out. President Reagan was part of that commission. One of the commission's conclusions was that economic reactivation would depend on the FMLN's defeat. That is why abundant economic aid had to be linked to specific military aid. This idea was shared by the big capital sector, along with many people who had links to the state structure—particularly the Army. This forced us to find ways to defeat this idea. That is why we had to increase sabotage and make it a daily chore, knowing well that we were hurting interests we did not want to hurt. You see, we could not, for example, sabotage the electric power system in such a way that only one sector would be affected. That was impossible. We had to choose between letting this strategy win—and if it won there would be no negotiating or way out but the consolidation of a very bloody regime and a huge bloodbath—or follow the line that we have taken.

As you well know, our strategy prevented economic recovery and cracked the pillars of the counterinsurgency strategy. These pillars had already begun to crack militarily because the Armed Forces's strategy never showed any ability to wipe out the FMLN, even with U.S. advice. The Armed Forces were not even efficient enough to weaken the FMLN by wiping out its men or

capacity. Quite the contrary, if you look carefully and scan the newspapers, even while the Armed Forces made clumsy propaganda charges such as terrorism and so on, you can see how the FMLN's combat capacity grew. I call on all Salvadorans and especially journalists to check this out. One landmark was the use of antiaircraft weapons, the greater firing power we began to acquire—so great we were even able to reach the center of San Salvador.

This demonstrated the very heavy toll the military strategy had taken on the country and that of the overall counterinsurgency strategy. Changes were needed and had to come about. In addition, from the start of the war we offered to negotiate. We were the ones who from the beginning hoisted the flag of negotiation, with the brilliant support of the Franco-Mexican Declaration in August 1981. We were part of the opposition even then. The party that is currently in power kept saying it was treason to negotiate. Some party members still shout this; in fact, some even say Cristiani is a traitor.

It is also true that there have been changes of mentality within the party. What does ARENA intend to do with that hard, backward, dogmatic, and extremist sector? This is one of the big questions that remains unanswered. This is something that will have quite a bearing over the next few years. This is the most decisive and delicate period. Our outlook is not polarization. We believe this entire negotiating process, based on a military issue, has started to redraw the lines of Salvadoran society outside the traditional polarization framework. The dividing line is no longer the line that divides the rich and the poor, opposition and government—although these differences are always present. The main dividing line—the decisive line during this period—is the one between those of us who do and do not favor compliance with these agreements in spirit and letter. In other words, those who favor change in El Salvador.

On the other hand there are those who oppose this, who want to see this process fail, who try to stem the Lempa River with brute strength. I think they are destined to fail. Of these two sides, the first has a better chance. It is the side that has unanimous international support. The support from the UN Security Council is exceptional in UN history. All the agreements reached at that negotiating table were ratified one by one by the UN Security Council by unanimous vote. This somewhat predetermines the direction things will take. But we cannot underestimate the fact that those small and recalcitrant sectors in ARENA, some gentlemen of great wealth, and the Army have some means to cause problems and to try to destabilize the country.

Those who pledged to implement the agreements—above all President Cristiani, the military high command, and ARENA leaders—now face a challenge: They must put things in order without delay. The nation must demand it.

[Reporter] We notice the attitude of the FMLN toward the United States has changed and that the United States plays an essential role, not only in the Salvadoran political process but also at the regional level. The United States supported the Salvadoran economy during the war and is expected to support it in peace time. What brought about the change of attitude of the FMLN toward the United States?

[Handal] The change occurred because the United States changed its policy toward El Salvador. The United States took some time to make the changes, which were defined as soon as Mr. Bush assumed the Presidency. This was followed by the collapse of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union's collapse, the Sandinist National Liberation Front's electoral defeat in Nicaragua—and this stopped the implementation of those changes in U.S. policy.

New hope arose for a military victory and the war was stepped up. We had to further prove our strength to make them realize that the FMLN's future would not be determined by events occurring in other parts of the world; that the FMLN had its own vitality and its own deeply ingrained support among the people; and that it could certainly continue to fight without being defeated. Consequently, the U.S. Congress first.... [pauses] I will not tell you, because everyone knows, how the U.S. Congress began to set much stricter provisions for granting military aid. Then the State Department and the Bush administration implemented the policy changes. This could have been done starting in 1989, but it was finally done. It was reflected in the U.S. attitude when the first New York Agreements were signed in September, and it was confirmed during the long negotiations we held in New York for the second accord. The U.S. attitude was similar to that adopted by the friendly nations' group—they all cooperated to make the negotiations more viable.

[Reporter] What you have said answers one of the questions, the one about change and the reason for the change. But we want to know: What kind of relations will you have with the United States?

[Handal] We are talking about new relations. Following the meeting, following the signing of the New York Agreements at midnight on 31 December we were visited in the hotel by Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary for inter-American affairs—this was later published in THE NEW YORK TIMES; in fact, the U.S. Government made sure it was published—and he clearly said some things. One, he wanted us to know that the war between the United States and El Salvador had also ended; that the United States pledged to implement the agreements; that the United States was interested not only in the cease-fire but also in the reforms that were outlined in the accords—particularly military reform, political reform, and all the other reforms. In addition, the United States believed that this represented an opportunity to test new formulas to settle conflicts and to give its foreign politics, particularly its relations with Latin

America, new elements. The United States was interested in having this new model yield results because lessons could be learned from it.

He also urged us to fulfill our pledges. We told him: We are more interested than anybody else in having the agreements implemented because we designed the model, meaning that the FMLN presented the guidelines for the negotiations from the very first moment. The world can attest to that. I avail myself of the opportunity to reassert that negotiations were carried out according to those guidelines, and they included ideas for change. Not all the ideas were fully implemented like we planned but we knew that whoever participates in negotiations should be prepared to negotiate certain issues—and the accords we negotiated were good, excellent. That is what we told Aronson. We are certainly the most interested in seeing the accords implemented.

We also told him we were pleased to see the United States advocate the accords. He explained that the support given to the Army was not because U.S. officials endorsed the Army's conduct—only because the U.S. Government's policy toward El Salvador was based on the idea that we should not triumph, that we had to be stopped from winning. That was the main issue. He explained it quite clearly. Consequently, we told him: We hope that, since our relations have changed and the country's situation has changed, you will not strive to prevent the FMLN from winning the elections, either. He began to laugh and said: No, that time has passed.

[Reporter] Now a topic that journalists have already discussed with you and other FMLN commanders. It is still being discussed. The FMLN's military development throughout the war was evident. What will the FMLN do to transform the military capital accumulated during the war years to political funds, especially in view of the election that is virtually just around the corner in two years?

[Handal] We have announced a conversion process. This is how we describe the theory that was implicit in the negotiations. From the military viewpoint, this war ended in a draw and, consequently, it destroyed the usual mode of concluding a war by one army winning over the other. A military victory—and this is taught at all military academies—is the disarming of the enemy. The victorious army disarms the losing army; this is why such terminology and concepts were excluded in this case.

What happened at the end of the war was, on one hand, a transformation, a very profound reformation of the government Army; and on the other, a conversion of the FMLN military structure.

I will not go into great detail on the Army reforms; I will only quickly repeat a few of the most significant. The public security bodies will be eliminated, and they will be replaced by a National Civilian Police [PNC] that will not be under military control; it will be new and totally civilian. The civil defense groups will disappear, as will the structure of the territorial service that served for such a long time to maintain military influence and win many elections. For a number of years these groups formed an electoral military dictatorship, and had a whole bunch of filthy people to protect it. They had a huge apparatus comprised of patrols—area patrols, neighborhood patrols, and so forth—that prior to the war numbered over (?100,000). All of this will disappear.

The current National Investigation Directorate will be dissolved and replaced by a state intelligence organization that will not be in the hands of the Army but of the Presidency. Also to be dissolved are the military structures created for counterinsurgency purposes. The first to go will be the five Rapid Deployment Infantry Battalions. The Army will be reduced in numerical terms. However, the leading modification that I will mention is the change in the Army's military doctrine. The Army's constitutional mission has been reduced. It used to contain 14 points and now there are two, those found in all countries: protecting sovereignty and territory. They have no public or domestic peace functions.

The former so-called national security doctrine has been changed into a totally new doctrine based on the defense of sovereignty and territory, total respect for human rights, and total subservience to civil authority. All of these are enormous changes and transformations in the Army. The Army will also undergo a purge that will be regulated by a commission appointed for that purpose. Impunity will end. This is the result of the draw on the Army.

The result of the draw on the FMLN is conversion. We are going to convert the FMLN military apparatus in three fundamental areas. One is the socioeconomic area, which includes an agreement to transfer land in the war zones. The government will purchase the land from its owners and transfer it to area residents, including fighters and their relatives. It was also established in the socioeconomic agreement that as part of the national reconstruction plan, the government will create specific programs for FMLN fighters such as scholarships, pensions, housing, and support programs to establish businesses. This is the socioeconomic part of the conversion.

There are other areas, such as the PNC, in which former FMLN fighters will participate. The purpose of their participation is strictly to ensure balance in the PNC. We could not leave the PNC open because it would be cornered by current members of the National Police, Treasury Police, and National Guard. Then the PNC would not be a new organization. We had to ensure that it would have at least three components, mostly new policemen and officers who will come from the social segment that is not committed to either of the two sides. The FMLN, the smallest group, insisted on and achieved balance.

The main reason for our presence there is to make sure all the PNC positions are not grabbed, to guarantee that it will be different. Our presence there serves as a guarantee. A group of FMLN fighters will fulfill that

role—once they are demobilized. They will enter the PNC ranks and will be at the service of the PNC command, of course. We want to make sure the PNC incorporates them.

There is a third general conversion area, our participation as a legal political party. Those are the three conversion areas.

ARENA Deputy Rejects Possible U.S. Deportations

PA1202013992 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] Deputy Mario Valiente on 7 February harshly criticized the recent land occupations staged by popular organizations. He also expressed concern over the possible deportation en masse to El Salvador of Salvadorans living in the United States.

The ARENA deputy urged the U.S. Government to refrain from deporting over 200,000 Salvadorans who are covered by the temporary protection status law, better known by its acronym in English, TPS. The head of the ARENA faction at the legislature stressed that the Bush administration would be wrong to deport the Salvadorans.

[Begin Valiente recording] The United States has truly been helping us and not only militarily; perhaps the most important help it has given us is economic aid. At present El Salvador has ratified peace but economic problems are about to come up. To assimilate a large number of people, provide them with jobs, and generate employment cannot be done overnight. I believe the United States would be wrong to tell us at this moment: look, I am sending you 200,000 Salvadorans. Feed them, see what you can do with them. [end recording]

Regarding the illegal land occupations staged over the past few days, Valiente asserted that certain failure to respect private property could lead to provocation or legal action.

[Begin Valiente recording] Some people occupy land, perhaps to justify that they are already there. They tell the UN observers that they are already there. Let me tell you, there are properties that were occupied or abandoned many years ago because of the violence; you will see 20, 30, or 200 families living on that land, and five of them may be Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] members. You will question the strategy of the occupants, you will ask why they are doing this. [end recording]

Regarding the FMLN's participation as a political force, Valiente said the FMLN's leaders and its rank and file must readapt to society. He also wished the guerrilla leaders success in the political field.

Nicaragua

Official Comments on Disarmament Agreement

PA1302035492 Managua Radio Catolica in Spanish 1130 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Interview with Government Ministry Spokesman Frank Cesar by unidentified reporter; place not given—live]

[Text] [Reporter] We have just made contact with Government Ministry Spokesman Frank Cesar. Mr. Cesar, could you please comment on the importance of the signing of the agreement with [recontra leader] Commander Dimas Tigrillo?

[Cesar] Most important here is that, with the accord reached yesterday, we close the chapter on the recontras in our country. What we discussed with recompa groups is that the concept of reciprocity would prevail. In other words, to the degree that the recontras disarm or agreements with them are reached, we would also reach agreements with the recompas.

After the accord with Commander Dimas, the Department of Jinotega will be virtually free of armed groups. We are saying that in Region 1, the negotiating, demobilization, and disarmament process has concluded. In Region 6, a group in Rio Blanco and a small group in Waslala will disarm themselves today; and in Region 5, the disarmament process will be completed during the weekend of 15-16 February with the demobilization of Edwin Barberena, also known as Commander Oscar, of the Southern Front of ARDE [Democratic Revolutionary Alliance].

The agreements reached with Dimas... [pauses] he is a very charismatic person with a broad social base in the area of San Jose de Bocay, El Cua, [words indistinct], and El Carmen. At 2230 on 11 February, there was a large group of people gathered outside where the meeting was being held in Jinotega. When it was announced that an accord had been reached, generally speaking, all Jinotega residents, different associations, representatives of political parties and pressure groups from Jinotega society congratulated the signatories of the agreement. These people expressed their sympathy for these historical agreements.

This accord closes a page on this postwar period, during which National Resistance groups armed themselves, claiming to have security problems, and groups of Sandinists did the same, also claiming to have security problems. It was also incredible to see the gestures of reconciliation that took place between the members of the staff of the Democratic Forces of National Salvation and groups of recompas, namely the self-styled National Armed Self-Defense Movement.

It should be pointed out—it is important that the people know—that Commander Rojito, who does not operate

in Matagalpa, but near Juigalpa and El Ayote, participated in this meeting with Commander Dimas. Commander Rojito was reportedly involved in the incident in which members of the Nicaraguan Army were disarmed near Juigalpa. Also present were Commander Cinco Pinos; a commander known as Mario, who according to an afternoon newspaper recently threatened some correspondents; Jacinto Tercero, also known as Commander Campeon; and other comrades of Commander Dimas, who has already signed agreements with the government. They supported and assisted Commander Dimas in working out this accord, which will only benefit Nicaraguans. Ultimately, the Nicaraguan people are the beneficiaries of the dialogue and negotiating process with the armed groups.

I want to stress that after the accord signed with Commander Dimas, and his desire to reach these agreements, Jinotega will indeed be free of armed groups. This will permit us to improve the economy of the area, mainly the cattle sector, which was very concerned about this problem. This is what I could comment at this time.

With the demobilization of approximately 150 armed men in Rio Blanco on 12 February and of approximately 200 others in Waslala on 13 February, Region 6 will also be virtually free of armed groups. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] This was Government Ministry Spokesman Frank Cesar.

FSLN Leaders Receive National Program Proposal

PA1202235492 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 7 Feb 92 pp 1, 12

[Article by Roberto Larios]

[Text] On 6 February, former Sandinist government officials Rafael Solis, Fernando Guzman, and Francisco de Asis Fernandez presented Commander Luis Carrion Cruz of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] National Directorate with a proposal called: Reflections on the National Program. It was drafted by a Sandinist group.

Fernando Guzman told BARRICADA that the presentation of the document to the National Directorate was "to consolidate our original ties with the FSLN." He rejected the assertions that the group is "centrist."

The document contains a proposal for discussions within the party and does not imply that it sides with any group or person. Guzman stated: "It would not be constructive to attempt to contribute to the political debate by aligning with anybody."

BARRICADA has obtained a copy of the document. It begins by saying that, for the first time in its entire history, "Nicaragua has a real chance to organize itself as a modern and pluralist society where the inevitable conflicts and natural contradictions are resolved through peaceful and legal means."

"A society where, for the first time, the rule is not to destroy the adversary and where coexistence among Nicaraguans is based on socioeconomic equity and respect for individual rights."

According to Guzman, the last Sandinist ambassador in Argentina, the concept of a new current within the Sandinist party in favor of a national project came about as consequence of the electoral defeat, international changes, and the First Party Congress.

Guzman stated: "We have entered some sort of drowsiness and lack any belligerency. It is possible this came about because of our own limitations, but it is a reality."

The document was received by Carrion "with a very open-minded attitude." The document recommends "respect for sovereignty and national independence, and the rescue of national identity as represented in cultural life by Ruben Dario and in political life by Augusto C. Sandino" as basic components for a national project.

Guzman stated: "The need to develop an international policy based on respect for the principles established in the UN and OAS Charters cannot be postponed any longer."

He explained that it is necessary to "develop a social program the majority of Nicaraguans will adopt as their own. This program would be the framework for what Nicaraguan society should resemble as we approach the year 2000 and should extend to the end of the century."

This program should be devised through negotiation between all the political parties and "should conclude an understanding and agreement that would first define, in theory, the model society. It would then set the rules of the game in order for all parties involved to participate in the construction of the expected society."

The basic objectives include completing the institutionalization of democracy in Nicaragua. This democracy includes peace, reconciliation, and a state based on the rule of law. It would include a basic economic arrangement to enable us to enter a phase of economic development in Nicaragua. According to Guzman, "These are objectives that can be shared by the majority of Nicaraguans."

The proposal has been presented to the FSLN and is aimed at initiating a debate on this issue within the party. This debate would standardize a position that would later be presented to other sectors as an official party stance.

Agree on Need for Change

PA1302043492 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 10 Feb 92 pp 1, 12

[Text] The climate of internal agitation and debate that exists within the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] with regard to the role that, in the end, the party

should adopt in the present democratic era, is growing and turning in a direction that is not that easy to predict for the time being.

For the very first time, a member of the party's National Directorate admitted on 9 February that it was a mistake on the part of the FSLN not to make the changes at the July 1991 Congress that the new circumstances demanded. Sergio Ramirez Mercado said on 9 February in Masatepe, at an assembly of Masaya Department cadres, that "the results of the past Sandinist congress were not in keeping with current reality."

Ramirez complained that "An effort had been made to hasten developments," and he likened today's Sandinism to "one big piece of dough that is being kneaded, and from which will emerge a new loaf of bread, in a pan that may not be square."

According to analysts, when Ramirez spoke of a pan that may not be "square," the ranking FSLN leader was referring to orthodox Sandinists who are unable to admit that the world has changed and that political movements must be renewed if they are to continue functioning.

Ramirez emphatically stated that the "word of the National Directorate is no longer the word of God like it was before," and that "no one should be frightened" by "the new type of relationship" that the FSLN is seeking with the U.S. Government.

Meanwhile, Aldo Diaz Lacayo, a former ambassador to Mexico, said that the issue is to "open up a discussion among the discouraged masses who lack the spirit to participate in partisan political debate."

Diaz invited all Sandinists to an FSLN meeting within the next few days but, he said, they must leave their hierarchies and positions at the door. Aldo Diaz and his group believe that this is the only way to reactivate the FSLN.

According to Diaz Lacayo, it is the only way to "enlighten the new meeting of the roots of Sandinism," although he opposed the emergence of "trends of thought," such as that announced recently by Dr. Rafael Solis.

The former Nicaraguan diplomat believes that, although it is true that the FSLN's loss of the elections, as well as the fall of the socialist bloc, have been "discouraging elements," Sandinists must admit that the FSLN "is undergoing its own crisis."

Several districts in Managua recently decided to suspend their election of FSLN leaders because of the apathy that exists among the Sandinist rank and file. The rank and file resisted the National Directorate's order to carry out the elections.

Over the past weekend, Sandinist intellectual Gioconda Belli also discussed the FSLN's crisis. She said that the FSLN reorganization that was initiated prior to the congress "was aborted by the FSLN's National Directorate itself, when it ran as a group and demanded its own reelection on the premise that it was necessary for the party's unity."

The result of that action, according to Belli, "was no more than superficial unity, a patch that covered the wound but did not cure the infection."

She added that the National Directorate's reelection resulted in its "being alone and its acting, in fact, on behalf of a party that only formally supported it and very often did not even do that." Belli described the FSLN's current situation as an "atomization."

Orlando Nunez, one of the Sandinist agrarian revolution's most distinguished theoreticians, said that the FSLN should seek "new leadership." However, he said that it would be difficult for the new leaders "to emerge from among the wealthy businessmen or from sectors that identified with the statist model" of the past decade.

Nunez made these assertions upon presenting his book *The War in Nicaragua* on 9 February at the Sinforoso Bravo school in Managua. He said that the FSLN's new leadership should come from "the least well-to-do, from the least discredited sector of Sandinism." Nunez even added that the conditions were right for this change because there is a need, there is social pressure, there is debate and a favorable correlation of forces.

Nunez pointed out in his book that one of the FSLN's greatest errors was having distanced itself from the peasants because, according to him, "An urban revolution was carried out in Nicaragua in a peasant society."

Meanwhile, Commander Henry Ruiz seriously shocked the Sandinist rank and file by virtually suggesting that the FSLN should abandon its "vanguard" theory. In statements to newspaper reporters, Ruiz said that "it is no longer a matter of being elitist, or of one group of leaders assuming that an action is correct and demanding support for it." They should first ask the people, he said, if they truly support the causes their leaders are asking them to defend.

When asked the reasons for this change, since he was one of the great defenders of the Sandinists' "vanguardism," Ruiz responded that "These are new circumstances to which the revolutionary forces should also submit."

Meanwhile, FNT [National Workers' Front] adviser Dr. Adrian Meza Soza said that he would never agree to have the FSLN directed by businessmen. "I would agree," he said, "to have businessmen in the FSLN, but to have them direct the party would be something else."

He added that if he ever found himself in a labor conflict with a Sandinist businessman, he would treat him as he would any other businessman, because the business sector's interests are very different from the workers', who are the ones he advises.

Panama

M-20 Announces Creation of 'General Staff'

PA1202154692 Paris AFP in Spanish 0046 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By James Aparicio]

[Excerpt] Panama City, 12 Feb (AFP)—The clandestine 20 December Movement [M-20] announced on 11 February the formation of a military "general staff" that will head the struggle for "a true democracy" in Panama, freedom of political prisoners, and fulfillment of the Torrijos-Carter Canal Treaties.

In a "Message to Panama and the World," signed by Major Carlos Saldana, the guerrillas—who define themselves as Torrijists—maintain that the "long line of injustices and outrages committed" by the government of Guillermo Endara "will lead Panama to a civil war."

Saldana was a traffic police major in 1989 and earned the nickname of "Superman," when on various occasions before the 20 December 1989 invasion he confronted U.S. soldiers engaged in maneuvers. After the invasion, he became a prisoner at large of the new authorities, who accuse him of organizing bank robberies to finance subversion.

Although Saldana's message that was sent to the media does not mention the name of the organization, the attorney general's office has identified the former major with the M-20 group, which has been accused of staging various attacks over the past two years.

According to the police, there are also other rebel groups, such as the Torrijist Resistance [Resistencia Torrijista—RT] and Torrijist National Liberation Movement [Movimiento Torrijista de Liberacion Nacional—MTLN], made up of former soldiers, active policemen, and leftist politicians.

The document, which was received on 11 February by the press, includes a photograph of Saldana wearing a uniform and sitting between a policeman and a civilian wearing hoods. They are flanked by a Panamanian flag and a photograph of General Omar Torrijos, the nationalist leader who was killed in a controversial air crash on 31 July 1981. [passage omitted]

Major Saldana Delivers 'Message'

PA1202144092 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 12 Feb 92 p 2A

["Message to Panama and the World" released to the press by "the military group" led by Major Carlos Saldana, former member of the defunct Panamanian Defense Forces, in Panama City on 11 February]

[Text] "When a soldier confronts a student, peasant, or worker, the student, peasant, or worker will always be on the losing end, because the soldier is the FATHERLAND. All of the people are humble children of a suffering people, who have been led to face one another to maintain the status quo that has exploited their parents and their fatherland." Omar Torrijos

Today the supporters of the steadfast principles of sovereignty, dignity, and social justice—the military example espoused by our immortal commander that moved us to take it as our banner—address our fellow Panamanians and all the peoples of our America, with the purpose of referring to political events, because currently only the voice of those who reached power on top of the tanks of the invading army is the one that is heard.

Those who were vested with power on a foreign military base and who approved of the savage aggression against our people, in which thousands of Panamanian lives were lost, as well as the unpatriotic drug traffickers, money launderers, and coat-and-tie ruffians entrenched in the government, are legally, juridically, and morally unqualified to direct our destiny. This regime, with its antinational and unpopular practices, has given rise to the following problems:

1. Unemployment of 200,000 heads of families, which means half of the population suffers from extreme poverty.

2. An economic plan directed at massive decapitalization, flight of our wealth abroad, and illegal enrichment of the governing group. This creates:

a. The disappearance of the small and medium producer.

b. A policy of dismissals disguised as a "voluntary retirement" plan.

c. An attack against pensioned and retired workers through the social security reforms and the nonexistent autonomy of this social institution.

d. The privatization of state enterprises of vital national importance, despite the fact that they are profitable.

e. The Destruction of the national industry.

3. Total and submissive handout of our sovereignty.

4. A policy of terror against labor, worker, student and trade organizations, with the purpose of silencing their voice of protest.

5. Persecution, harassment, and hunger of the man in uniform, both those inside and outside of this institution.

6. Trafficking of influence, general corruption, and false justice.

7. Spiraling increase of violence supported by the corruption of ranking officials, policemen in command positions, who act in collusion to form large bands of drug distributors.

8. Proliferation of terrorist acts whose final aim is to justify being armed and to create special assault groups to execute acts of repression and "silent" executions.

The long line of injustices and outrages, which will no doubt lead us to a painful civil war, is extensive. It is necessary, therefore, for each and every one of us to reflect on the need to adopt measures that will lead to a true national reconciliation. Hence, we have decided, as soldiers of the fatherland, together with the active forces, to take the necessary action to preserve our national identity, peace, and public security; and to introduce into our political life a true democracy in which all citizens will have a voice and vote.

The general staff that accompanies me is a reflection of the position adopted by those active forces, both of the National Guard (which is the name of our institution in the political constitution) and of the popular organizations that strive for:

1. A true democratic government.

2. Strict fulfillment of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties. This implies Panama's responsibility to coordinate with the U.S. Government the combined protection, defense, and security of the interoceanic waterway (Article IV, paragraph 3 of the Torrijos- Carter Treaties).

3. Building peace by eradicating violence and punishing corrupt ranking civilian and military officials who promote it. We condemn any act of terrorism as a way to settle our existing differences. Our intelligence reports permit us to advise the public that such actions have been planned and executed by government factions and paramilitary groups organized by the pseudo-opposition.

4. Freedom of political prisoners, whose only crime has been to defend the fatherland.

5. An immediate end to the dismissals of humble persons, dismissals that are carried out in order to provide relatives of the oligarchy with exaggerated salaries.

6. Restoring the government's support of the peasantry.

7. Providing protection and establishing clear game rules for investors.

8. Ending persecution of students and workers who demand a home, food, work, and respect for our sovereignty.

9. Restoring Panamanian territory to the geography of free countries of Latin America.

Our position regarding the United States is that it is our partner in the management of the interoceanic waterway, but relations must be based on mutual respect and strict fulfillment of international agreements. We invite the international community to contribute to the search of a peaceful solution to the Panamanian situation.

We remind our officers, noncommissioned officers, and troops—who have been the victims of humiliation and abuse at the hands of a prostituted leadership, devoid of command and professionalism—that we have proudly adopted this determination to struggle and that the azimuth is in the fatherland and not in the corrupt ones, who with the so-called police and the government, are relinquishing our honor and dignity.

Panamanian People: We are part of the generation forged in the teachings of our Commander Omar, who was nurtured by the wisdom of the fatherland, taking the voice of our own identity before the concert of nations. The rescue of the dignity of the peasants and the oppressed is not a myth, but an achievement for which we will continue to struggle.

We strongly denounce the machinations of the Endara government that, in alliance with the ill-called Torrijists, seeks to remain in power, by convoking a constituent assembly. We have found out that they seek to involve the military in such a plan to make their bloody intentions triumph through the force of repression.

Panama: Your best civilian and military children are working to again vindicate you. We trust in almighty God whose wisdom will guide us to achieve our sublime mission.

"ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND"
Major Carlos Saldana G.
Panama, 11 February 1992

Reward Offered for M-20

PA1302014992 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The Attorney General's Office tonight offered a 5,000 balboa reward for each of the two alleged top leaders of the 20 December Movement, M-20, a terrorist group that struggles against the U.S. presence in Panama. The reward offered is for information on the whereabouts of Carlos Saldana, alias Superman, and Alcibiades Rodriguez, alias Teson, former members of the now defunct Panama Defense Forces, who supposedly comprise the M-20's general staff. The M-20 emerged following the U.S. invasion of Panama on 20 December 1989.

Anyone who can supply correct information to locate the whereabouts of Superman and Teson should call the Judicial Technical Police at 62-6077 or 62-6812, extension 126, or call the National Police at 32-6164 or 32-6029. Saldana and Rodriguez have pending legal cases.

Minister, Attorney General on Conspiracy

PA1202233092 Panama City Telemetro Television Network in Spanish 1720 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report on interviews with Government Minister Juan Bautista Chevalier and Attorney General Rogelio Cruz by unidentified reporter on 12 February—places not given]

[Text] In view of [Major Saldana's "Message to Panama and the World"], proclamation, Government and Justice Minister Juan Bautista Chevalier has stated that there is strong evidence pointing to the existence of military groups that seek to topple the government and forcibly install a military government. Meanwhile, reports indicate that there is a rivalry among the soldiers who joined the new government and those who still want to establish a new dictatorship.

[Begin recording] [Government Minister Juan Bautista Chevalier] I could issue a proclamation tomorrow and sign 4-40 [popular musical group] under it, although I am not a merengue musician.

[Reporter] The picture shows a Public Force (?member). What do you say to that?

[Chevalier] Excuse me, but I have seen nothing; I have not yet read the newspapers. Do not ask me about things I have not yet seen. You insist that this or that person said this or that, but I cannot accept what you claim as fact.

[Reporter] There was reportedly a proclamation, Mr. Minister.

[Chevalier] Praise the Lord.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] a proclamation.

(Chevalier] A what?

[Reporter] A [word indistinct] proclamation. Look, Mr. Minister, here it is. It is titled: Clandestine Group Consisting of Former Soldiers Proposes Struggle Against Government.

[Chevalier] Oh! I had not seen that. This means that the claims of the government minister and the police chief were not fabrications.

[Reporter] In what sense?

[Chevalier] It has been said that the conspiracy we denounced was simply a story and now it happens it was not so.

[Reporter] What will the ministry do?

[Chevalier] What we have done from the start—and people have not believed that we are indeed doing this—that is, continue to investigate. We will turn over our findings to the Prosecutor's Office.

[Reporter] In the proclamation they are demanding the release of political prisoners who have been in detention for almost three years. They describe individuals being held at the Renacer Prison as political prisoners. What do you think?

[Chevalier] I like what you just said. They have described those individuals as political prisoners. There are actually no political prisoners in this country. There are detained criminals, which is different.

[Reporter] They also state that the Christian Democratic Party is directly involved in the attacks of the past few days. What is your opinion?

[Chevalier] I am not a Christian Democrat. They should answer that question.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]?

[Chevalier] The Public Prosecutor's Office is currently conducting the investigations, not the Government Ministry.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, is the Public Force currently prepared to face clandestine groups at any given moment?

[Chevalier] I think so, especially such discredited elements as want to return to the times of complete pillage and theft, which they enjoyed for 21 years. They want to continue doing that. I do not believe that the Panamanian people will allow them to do so. It is not the Public Force that will prevent this, the Panamanian people will.

[Reporter] Are these groups linked to political parties? They claim to follow a Torrijist line.

[Chevalier] I cannot say because I do not know.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, do you believe the people will defend democracy despite their strong criticism and displeasure?

[Chevalier] That is precisely what democracy is all about: The right to criticize that we did not have before. Do you remember? Or have you already forgotten after two years?

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, do you believe....

[Chevalier, interrupting] I believe that all political parties and all Panamanians are duty bound to not defend the government, but defend democracy, the system; not [President] Endara, Chevalier, or [Police Chief] Oswaldo Fernandez, but defend democracy. Do you believe that you would be able to place that microphone in my face, as you are in fact doing, if these men regain power through some miracle of destiny? I do not think so.

[Reporter] Has the existence of this movement been confirmed?

[Chevalier] Not by us. I have nothing to do with this investigation personally. It is in the hands of the Public Prosecutor's Office. Do I need to repeat this 100 times?

[Reporter] Are Public Force members involved?

[Chevalier] I revealed that. Do you not remember the news conference at which I denounced that? I said that thanks to the fact that Public Force members conducted a self-purge and denounced those involved in criminal actions we were able to determine that there was a conspiracy. I cannot tell you whether there are other members involved. That is being investigated within the Public Force and the Public Prosecutor's Office is leading that investigation.

[Reporter] Is democracy in Panama in jeopardy?

[Chevalier] I do not believe so. The existence of hotheads in this country will not [word indistinct] democracy. I am sure that you would be the first to defend democracy, right?

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, the attorney general on 11 February said that there are civilian as well as military cells conspiring against this government. He added that it is possible, I repeat, it is possible that even certain members of this government could be involved in a plot against the Endara administration.

[Chevalier] If the attorney general said so, I believe him. Look, he is over there. He is leading the investigations [chuckles] and I have no doubts that there are people within and without and everywhere who want a return of the satrapy of 21 years ago. They miss absolute power and the complete pillage of the state.

Their aim is not to topple the government, but democracy. That is what we must bear in mind; we must defend democracy, not a government, which is transitory, because, God willing, we will replace it every four or five years through elections.

However, the issue here is not to defend Endara, Chevalier, or the mayor of San Miguelito, who I see in front of me, but we must defend democracy.

[Attorney General Rogelio Cruz] We must fight against political crimes, first of all by repressing it within the framework of the country's constitution and laws.

[Reporter] Mr. Attorney General, one of the things they have requested are trials for those individuals they describe as political prisoners, who after three years have not yet stood trial. Justice has been very slow in this regard.

[Cruz] Most of the prisoners from the past regime are delaying the trials. I believe they are awaiting a better time, perhaps a change to a government with which they would certainly have better chances.

[Reporter] Why is it taking so long to release these individuals or to prosecute them?

[Cruz] Many people are only concerned about the problem of those 48 or 50 prisoners. Throughout the years in this country, since 1903, justice has been slow, and right now there are over 1,500 Panamanians in jail whose trials have also been delayed.

[Reporter] According to Saldana's group they are trying to build a true democracy and release the political prisoners. They say that the government consists of ruffians and that it is hampered by corruption and influence peddling.

[Cruz] I would ask Saldana and Bernal what they did during Noriega's regime. I would also ask the Panamanian people if they could be deluded into believing in a true democracy built by the military.

[Reporter] Do you not believe this could generate a civil war in our country?

[Cruz] I do not believe so. It evidently is not so. I do not believe the Panamanian people will believe those lies.

[Reporter] What security measures will you implement? This group has proven that it can elude the security organizations.

[Cruz] I do not believe this is exactly so. It is evident, however, that the security institutions are adopting adequate measures.

[Reporter] Do you believe that sooner or later the leaders of the group will be caught?

[Cruz] It may take some time, but justice will be done. [end recording]

Former Officers Reject Terrorism, Violence

PA1302043892 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 11 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Juan Pristiolas]

[Text] On 10 February, former officers Fernando Quesada and Moises del Rios, who tried to oust General Manuel Antonio Noriega in 1988, rejected the use of terrorism to exert pressure on the government. They agreed that the Public Force must exercise the defense of democracy.

Colonel Quesada, the last military officer to be appointed National Police director, said that the democratic system "must be defended to the last man (even) with weapons."

Fernando Quesada ruled out the possibility that those involved in the latest terrorist actions have the capability to oust the government. He termed as "childish and immature" the military involved in the action.

Quesada also agreed with his comrade in arms, Humberto Macea, who said a dialogue should be held with the government to analyze some of the military officers' problems. They both disqualified the mediation of Col.

Julian Melo, adding that the talks should not include the participation of those who persecuted and robbed the Panamanian people.

The former police chief said that certain military must "carry their cross...since many people suffered here because of them," but he emphasized that certain injustices and mistakes perpetrated against several soldiers should be rectified.

Col. Quesada also said that the military who have not been charged "should not be cast aside" because they could be used by certain quote leaders unquote to disrupt our democratic system.

Meanwhile, Major Moises del Rio said the current system is still endangered, and he warned his comrades in arms not to become involved in terrorism, because the main goal of the military is to protect democracy.

Del Rio explained that the threat against democracy not only comes from dissatisfied military members; it also involves dissatisfied civilians, drug traffickers, groups with strange ideologies, and international terrorism—which would like to see Panama destabilized because they operate better in that atmosphere.

The officer noted that politicians many times "use" the military to achieve their goals. He did not rule out the possibility that something like this is happening in Col. Eduardo Herrera's case.

Moises del Rios said that most of the problems afflicting the military refer to the welfare of the security institutions' members, and the government must solve these problems.

Maj. Del Rio proposed a dialogue to solve the military members' problems. He reasserted his hope that the country will make it to 1994 so that a new government will be elected with democratic mechanisms, because terrorism would not only oust a regime—it would also provoke a national problem.

Former Soldiers' Call For Dialogue Rejected

PA1302035692 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Victor De la Hoz; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] On 12 February, the government turned down the call for dialogue by Noriega's soldiers. Jose Alvarez, president of the National Bar Association, said the legal status of those soldiers and civilians who have not committed crimes should be defined.

[Alvarez] "I think we should establish the difference between a person detained because of his ideas and political beliefs and someone detained because he stole from the treasury or violated the rights of Panamanians. Unless justice is expeditious and puts the guilty in jail and sets the innocent free, there can be no reconciliation or amnesty in this country."

Foreign Minister Julio Linares was asked about this. He said:

[Linares] "Before we can have amnesty we need repentance and admittance of guilt for the acts committed. Unfortunately, I have not noticed any remorse on the part of the people who cry for justice. On the contrary, they justify their acts and adopt a more defiant attitude."

[De la Hoz] "Some people fear these military men may destabilize the country."

[Linares] "This may happen. This is precisely the aftermath of the dictatorship."

Presidency Minister Julio Harris said:

[Harris] "These people do not agree with the government. They have lost the power they previously held and wish to return to that lifestyle, which to my way of thinking has ended in Panama."

[De la Hoz] "Do you think the government is willing to hold a dialogue with these soldiers?"

[Harris] "I do not believe the government plans to hold talks with them."

Roberto Troncoso, president of the Panamanian Human Rights Committee, said:

[Troncoso] "These men, in an effort to cast aside set attitudes on both sides, requested a dialogue or a concerted effort to clarify certain situations they face in solving their most urgent problems. Another group has used violence, as seen by their terrorist acts, which have been confirmed by government announcements. We who care for human rights insist that such terrorist acts cannot be used to gain access to dialogue. That would only harm innocent people. I believe this is not the way to force a government to sit down and negotiate."

Ecuador

* Nebot Discusses National, International Issues

* Economic, Border Concerns

92SM0230A Guayaquil EL UNIVERSO in Spanish 11 Jan 92 p 4

[Report on an interview with Social Christian Party Presidential Candidate Jaime Nebot by unidentified EL UNIVERSO correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] Jaime Nebot Saadi, 41, father of three, is a native of Guayaquil and an attorney by profession. This is the first time he has run for president of the Republic. His public life so far has consisted of a term as governor of Guayas during the administration of Leon Febres-Cordero and a term as legislator representing Guayas under the present administration of Dr. Rodrigo Borja.

In outlining his government platform, Nebot Saadi said that basically we should seek a small but strong state that will administer less but govern more, that will give freedom but regulate what must be regulated, that will not yield its authority to any sector in any region of the country, in the style of an aggressive private firm seeking abundance.

"I think that to achieve all this, one thing is fundamental: redesigning the role of the state. We must not confuse this with privatization. One is part of the other, and for this reason we must go as far as reforming the state, restoring to independent people the right to elect and be elected, with no strings attached, including the right to reelection," he stated.

Focusing on the problem of the administration of justice in the country, Nebot Saadi said that it should become more streamlined and technical, basically depoliticized. He said that this could be achieved by taking away from the National Congress the power to appoint the members of the Supreme Court of Justice. "It is in the administrative area that the state needs the most reform. The state cannot be synonymous with ineffectiveness, politicization, and regulation. On the contrary, the state must be deregulated and depoliticized; it must be made effective, and that is done by having a small state. We must decentralize the government to unite Ecuadorans; there is no room for first-class and second-class provinces in this country."

Privatizations

In his explanation, Nebot stated that he does not believe in the theory of throwing the bureaucracy out in the street to reduce the size of the state, first of all because it is not fair, secondly because it is not necessary, and thirdly because it would not be legal without first passing a law. "There are various ways of reducing the size of the state, and privatization is one. It will not cause harm to anyone; public sector employees will go over to the private sector, and there they will see profits they do not have today, their salaries will improve by far more than today, and they will become part of a capitalism that must be a worker capitalism."

Civil Service Salaries

With regard to civil service salaries, he indicated that they should be set according to criteria of fairness, without abuse that could turn those people into a veritable oligarchy that we all have to work for in this country.

"It is impossible for the doorman at Petroecuador [Ecuadorian State Petroleum Enterprise] to earn 30 times what the doorman at a ministry makes, and 10 times what a doorman in a regular private company makes. So civil service salaries should be handled carefully, the way a business manager would handle money if the company were his and the money were his."

Inflation

He emphasized that the national budget should stop being a detonator for inflation, noting that cumulative inflation since just over three years ago has been 325 percent. The budget has gone from millions of sucres to 2 trillion sucres, and the difference is explained by the growth of the state and the impoverishment of Ecuadorans. In other words, more state and less people.

"This is done, and it can be undone in the same way, but I cannot accept the excuse that the president of the Republic cannot govern. Ideally, Congress and the administration, labor and management should enter into a true social pact, but if this does not work the way we would like, it is also possible to govern on the basis of current laws. The administrtion has the power to set tariff, credit, and wage policy, so of course it can govern."

He pointed out that another of the more effective formulas for combating inflation is to produce more and spend less. "But it is not a question of saying, cut the budget so that no one can comply and increase inflation through the action of the government itself."

He said he does not favor general or permanent subsidies, but temporary subsidies work all over the world, and in Ecuador, although subsidies cost the citizen, even more costly is not having enough rice or potatoes because of a lack of subsidies. "In view of all of this, it is easier to increase production. I think that we must go to a realistic dollar rate, and the mission of exporters is not to be speculators, but they should have a realistic dollar rate. I am neither against nor in favor of the methods required to reach a realistic dollar rate. There is devaluation, gradualism, and unblocking [desincautacion], and that works in some countries at some times. In Ecuador, when there is more demand for foreign exchange than there is supply, how can you float or unblock, even through the Central Bank of Ecuador?"

One Speech

In answer to a question, Nebot Saadi stated that he gives just one speech and one explanation to Ecuadorans in every region of the country.

"I have the same speech for the poor as for the rich; for those in the mountains as for those on the coast. What I do is express it in different ways."

National Problems

Referring to the problems that Guayaquil faces today, he said that they should be handled as if they were national problems, because this city has the largest population in Ecuador and the second-largest population of *serranos* [mountain people].

"When I was governor of Guayas, I was dubbed a regionalist because I was able to get by in Guayaquil without having the obligation or the legal capacity to do so, sometimes. We built the beltway, and in Quito other roads were built. We provided street lights and water, we paved streets, we equipped hospitals, we resurfaced Guayaquil's streets, we built avenues and overpasses, we strengthened the police. When you have a talent for government, you can get things done, but Guayaquil cannot be favored by the isolated action of a four-year administration."

He stressed that Guayaquil should have its revenues returned to it, but there are also provinces in the country that must rely on more productive provinces for their survival.

"We are all aware that the municipal government needed to be cleaned up, but capable people had to be voted into office by the electorate. The problem is, we have gotten into a vicious circle: The city government says it cannot do anything because the state is not sending any revenue, but the government says it is not sending revenue because the city government is not doing anything." He said that unfortunately, some people in the city government are involved in stealing the money that comes in and goes out. "Afterwards they explain it away as the income of hundreds of *pipones* [people on the government payroll who do nothing], and they give the money to someone. One of the people receiving it is Xavier Aguirre, and that is easy to prove. Look at all the signs for Abdala Bucaram, and you will see the initials XAR on the bottom; they stand for Xavier Aguirre Rodriguez. So he is the painter or chief of personnel, and if he is a painter, how does he have the money to work for a multi-million-sucre campaign?"

Strengthening the Police

He said that it is especially necessary to strengthen the National Police now, as crime continues to increase.

"For this purpose, we must give them vehicles, communications, better pay, and more officers. Criminals must be pursued within the law. The police must use sidearms, but they must follow the law."

Emelec Case

"I think that there is a contract that must be respected, a procedure that must be followed, and a price that must be paid," stated Nebot Saadi, referring to matter of the Ecuadoran Electric Power Enterprise (Emelec) and the transfer of stock.

"Emelec should be turned over to the Guayaquil private firm," he noted, "but the firm should pay for it in cash, because they must get used to being competitive. It is not fair for the state to pay the owners of Emelec in cash and the private businessmen to pay the state in paper, or worse yet, by using the foreign debt."

The presidential candidate asserted that the state has an obligation to sell the company and to collect for it. "The contract should not be renewed, because I do not agree with the way in which the Electric Company of Guayaquil has been managed, but the company should be sold to any private investor, national or foreign, who pays what is owed."

He emphasized that if the private firm is trying to negotiate directly with Emelec for the sale of its stock, it is violating a previously established contract.

Foreign Debt

Focusing on the problem of paying the foreign debt, he indicated that so far no country has paid off its entire foreign debt, although it is necessary to pay what the country owes in order to obtain international credit.

"The foreign debt, in its negotiable tranches, is not worth the nominal amount. It is not true that Ecuador owes $12.5 billion. There are ways of reducing the foreign debt and renegotiating it in a smarter way, taking advantage of long-term formulas. The problem is paying the debt without sacrificing national development."

He indicated that the country's problem is that many of those who ran Ecuador's economic policy in the past were employees of the International Monetary Fund.

Price Controls

The presidential candidate said that the prices of goods are controlled by the police [as published], but it is healthy competition that regulates quality, quantity, and therefore price, because where there is no competition there is a monopoly.

"In the area of medicine, the problem is more complex. Part of the medicine business must be run by the government, so funds are needed to provide good service. It is one thing to subsidize and another to control prices. There is no subsidy or price control on medicines, nor is there competition. Private enterprise is one thing, theft is another, and I am not willing to allow exploitation to take place."

[Box, p 11]

Territorial Problem Must Be Solved

"I believe there is no contradiction in upholding our Ecuadoran principle while acknowledging the urgent need to find a final solution to our territorial problem with Peru," said Jaime Nebot in connection with the border dispute.

He explained that the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro is null and void because it was imposed by force and is also impossible to execute. But the time has come to arrive at a practical solution, and for this purpose an honorable agreement must be devised. "This agreement, in my opinion, must have three premises. The first is that Ecuador's sovereign right to the Amazon must be recognized in some specific way, or else it cannot be an honorable agreement. There are many formulas, and we must sit down at the bargaining table to discuss them. Secondly, the Ecuadoran people must be consulted, because whatever a government decides will never have a consensus, but there will be a majority so that the moral and political framework of a definitive negotiation can be established."

The third premise he proposed was that the solution to the problem should remain free of politics. Unfortunately, he noted, every time there has been a serious political problem in either Peru or Ecuador, the border problem has served as a distraction. "There are plenty of formulas, but since the problem is bilateral, we must find a solution that satisfies both sides. But if the conditions are not met for an honorable agreement for Ecuador, it is better to let things remain the way they are now. I think all Ecuadorans desire peace, but not dishonor."

* Andean Pact Participation

92SM0230B Guayaquil EL UNIVERSO in Spanish 11 Jan 92 p 4

[Text] On the subject of Andean integration, Nebot Saadi noted that we must move toward it, but we must make it clear that we are seeking to benefit the consumer and the producer. He emphasized that he favors remaining in the Andean Pact, but with certain parameters.

"The first thing here is to determine what the Andean Pact does for us, and then to sign. It should not be like the last time, when we signed first and then figured out what it did for us. Someone said that I want to get out of integration if I become president. Nothing could be further from the truth, but Chile did leave and it is just fine. We should remain, but we must learn how to negotiate aggressively the way President Gaviria did. He said, 'I have come to negotiate, but Colombia's interests come first,' and the Peruvians say, 'If you do not give me a common external tariff that I like, I'm leaving,' while we said, 'Where do we sign for the photo opportunity?'"

He stressed that Ecuadorans should be aware that the market is the world, but we should not give concessions, giving benefits in exchange for benefits, and if integration is achieved that way, we will definitely progress.

"Foreign investment must be promoted, or else we will have no source of funds. The country has no savings, it has no securities market, and it cannot tolerate more taxes. Gasoline prices cannot be raised to international levels, because that would mean bringing poverty to international levels. In other words, the pretext is that we want to avoid fuel smuggling, but the further Peru drifts away, the further we follow it," he stated.

No Fuel Subsidies

He indicated that he does not believe in a fuel subsidy, but thinks the state should make fuel production more effective, as long as it cannot sell it. And when it has a price that is based on efficiency, part of the profits could be set aside to solve Ecuador's problems, but first it would have to be determined where profits would go.

Peru

Officials 'Intensify' Security Measures in Lima

PA1302042192 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by Jaime Reyes in Lima]

[Excerpts] On 12 February, the U.S. ambassador's residence was surrounded by a police cordon after it was the target of a terrorist attack on 11 February. Pedestrians and vehicles were banned from the area. Furthermore, the death of a third policemen has been confirmed. He died on 13 February at the emergency room of the Edgardo Revagliatti Hospital and has been identified as Corporal Vladimir Campoblanco Gamarra. His death is added to that of Lieutenant Jose Luis Saravia Avila and Sergeant Hugo Sol Sanchez, who died as a result of critical injuries sustained during the cowardly attack on the U.S. ambassador's residence in our capital. The three officers' bodies were being held at Lima's morgue after the customary autopsy was conducted. Their relatives waited outside the facilities for the authorization to remove their bodies for burial.

In addition, the diplomatic mission affected by the explosion that occurred on 11 February was completely cordoned off by a large number of policemen, who restricted the passage of pedestrians and vehicles through the area. The damage caused by the powerful car bomb explosion is evident from a long distance. The car bomb was loaded with approximately 50 kg of dynamite and destroyed a large portion of the wall on Petit Thuars Avenue. This is how several buildings on block 6 of Arequipa Avenue look after being hit by the shock wave of the explosion that destroyed a large part of the U.S. ambassador's residence. Workers hired by several companies that operate in the buildings have been removing the glass shards still clinging to the window frames. Ambassador Anthony Quainton has not been seen since

the terrorist attack. Nevertheless, it has been learned that the diplomat was not in the premises when the attack occurred. He had apparently just left his offices in downtown Lima.

Given the large number of recent terrorist attacks causing damage and deaths, the National Police High Command decided on 13 February to restrict its forces to their quarters. The main streets of the capital are being watched by police personnel, who have doubled patrols to prevent any terrorist attacks. The patrols are also being conducted by air.

The SUNAT [National Tax Superintendency], the National Penitentiary Institute, U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton's residence, and bank branches have recently been the target of terrorist attacks by groups which have yet claimed responsibility for their actions. Public offices, ministries, and the downtown area of the capital are being protected by the police and Army personnel to guarantee the people's safety—particularly because Michel Camdessus, the highest IMF representative, is currently on an official visit in the country. The National Police High Command's orders, restricting personnel to their quarters, will be effective throughout the weekend to guarantee people's normal activities, despite the alleged and ill-named armed strike decreed by the subversive group Shining Path for 14 February, an action that has been rejected by the Lima citizenry. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister General Juan Briones Davila stated his concern and sorrow for the death of civilians and policemen during the latest terrorist attacks.

[Begin recording] [Briones] First of all, before I answer your questions, I would like to state my concern and sorrow for the death of so many citizens, who have been assassinated by this criminal subversive group. Innocent people have been killed. I express my sorrow, and I salute the National Police members who have died defending democracy against these bloody actions. Why has this occurred? You may recall that other armed strikes were decreed some years ago. When the organizers realized that the strikes were not supported, or that their goals were not achieved—this group of assassins has no ideology because they are even involved in drug trafficking—they realized that they were isolated because the people have abandoned them. People were deceived by their ideology, but this is no longer the case, and they have realized this. Thus, they have increased their actions, assassinating women—ladies in charge of the milk program—and labor organization leaders in the villages. They have no support, and this is the only way they can make their presence known. They want to make the people believe they are trying to achieve a so-called strategic balance.

[Unidentified reporter] Have they lost [word indistinct]?

[Briones] I would like to state the following: It is not easy, in fact it is difficult, to control all of Lima. Lima is undoubtedly a large city, but that does not mean we are not taking the necessary measures to guarantee the people's safety.

[Reporter] But those measures have failed, Mr. Minister.

[Briones] Do not say they have failed! Do not say they have failed! We are undoubtedly human, and we may make mistakes, but there is an overall strategy to counter these subversive groups.

[Reporter] What about the strike decreed for 14 February?

[Briones] We will not wait until that date to adopt the necessary measures. We have been working on an overall plan to counter these terrorists. We do not necessarily act based on what the criminal subversive group wants to do. No. The strategy is implemented on a permanent and overall basis. We will not act until 14 February. No. We have been working on a planned and permanent basis to guarantee the people's safety. [end recording]

In response to a planned illegal strike, Council of Ministers President Alfonso de los Heros said that security measures will be stepped up so that commercial activities can be conducted normally. He also said protection will be guaranteed for transportation workers.

[Begin recording] [De Los Heros] No one agrees with these activities, of course. The government will intensify all police and security activities to prevent the strike. The purpose of these acts is to give the country a negative image, at a time when enormous efforts are being made to succeed and to improve. These acts are aimed at disturbing the visit by IMF Director [Michael] Camdessus, who is in Peru to discuss our economic program. I believe the people, the state, and the government must stand up to this situation, totally reject it, and implement every possible measure to avoid similar situations in the future.

[Unidentified Reporter] Will the antidrug summit be affected [words indistinct] the U.S. Embassy?

[De Los Heros] I do not see why it should be. We have an international agreement; the United States and Peru intend to fulfill this agreement because we both pledged to do so. I do not believe the summit will be affected.

[Reporter] What immediate measures will the executive branch take in response to the Shining Path's extreme provocations and the armed work stoppage it has called for 14 February?

[De Los Heros] We are stepping up security and reassuring the people that they will be protected and that we will cooperate so they will have no difficulty getting to work. The last strike was a total failure, and we believe and hope this one will also fail because we will implement adequate measures.

[Reporter] Will you offer transportation workers protection? I have heard that transportation union leaders are being threatened.

[De Los Heros] They need not feel threatened. We will provide protection for them as we did the last time, when the streets were patrolled and everyone who wanted to go to work was protected. [end recording]

Blacker: Bombing Will Not 'Tarnish' U.S. Ties

PY1202170892 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1655 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Lima, 12 Feb (EFE)—Peruvian Foreign Minister Augusto Blacker Miller said today that last night's attack against the U.S. ambassador's residence in Lima, which cost the life of two policemen, "will not tarnish the excellent relations with that country."

The foreign minister returned from a two-day visit to Germany, where he prepared for President Alberto Fujimori's visit in May 1992. [passage omitted]

Judge Orders Troops To Withdraw From University

PA1202224092 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] The 15th Civil Court judge in Lima ordered the immediate withdrawal of soldiers from the National University of San Marcos, ruling in favor of a petition of amparo [injunction] filed by Wilson Reategui, rector of that university. There was another incident this afternoon at the university's cafeteria caused by friction between university students and soldiers, when students protested the way lunch tickets are distributed.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified student] They are controlling everything, when in the past we handled our own activities in an organized fashion.

[Another unidentified student] They have established a new schedule. Tickets are distributed at 1030 or 1100, and then we must have lunch at 1145. [end recording]

Problems like these will definitely be over with the judicial order issued by the 15th Civil Court in Lima. That court ruled in favor of a petition filed on 25 November by the university rector and ordered the immediate withdrawal of the soldiers, who have been occupying various installations at the University of San Marcos since 21 May 1991. Although the order was issued on 31 January, it has not been enforced.

[Begin Reategui recording] We will continue with this legal struggle, because as stated in the court's decision, we are defending the university's rights. In that regard, we hope the Defense Ministry will adopt a sensible attitude and will accept the decision of the judicial authorities. We had to discuss this matter with the pertinent legal authorities after all our efforts through the regular channels of understanding, dialogue, public statements, and communiques failed. [end recording]

* Foreign Minister Discusses Border Negotiations

92SM0233B Lima CARETAS in Spanish 13 Jan 92 pp 14-15, 81

[Interview with Foreign Minister Augusto Blacker Miller by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [CARETAS] How and at what point did the idea of the papal expert come up?

[Blacker Miller] First of all, President Fujimori had reached the conclusion that the position that had been maintained for over 30 years was no longer viable, and that the border problem must be solved by seeking an understanding with the neighboring country. The missive of 24 November, in which an integral proposal of four basic points was put forward, marked the first steps. In early December the Ecuadoran foreign minister, Diego Cordovez, conveyed President Rodrigo Borja's invitation to President Fujimori to make an official visit to his country, which was immediately accepted. Four days before his departure, it occurred to us that the technical adviser to the demarcation commission could be someone from the Vatican, but of any nationality. This proposal contained the essence of what RB stated at the United Nations.

[CARETAS] Peru is not willing to participate in arbitration. If Ecuador does not accept the idea of the expert report, is there any possibility that the Vatican will intervene with its good offices or mediation, and if so, would Peru accept it?

[Blacker Miller] It would take some time to answer that question, because right now the ball is in Ecuador's court. The matter merits careful study, but in no way would it reduce the effort the two countries are making to reach a rapprochement. It should be emphasized that two letters of intent have been signed in conjunction with our proposals: One is to achieve economic coordination in order to accelerate the integration process, and the other is designed to enable the Latin American Energy Organization to act as a coordinating body for energy integration. We lack energy resources in the northern part of the country, but Ecuador is just finishing a 1,000-megawatt hydroelectric plant 55 km from the border that could provide us with low-cost power.

[CARETAS] At any rate, Ecuador has indicated that until the first point on papal intervention is resolved, it cannot take a position on the second point, regarding free navigation in the Amazon ....

[Blacker Miller] We have made an indivisible proposal; the four points must be applied as a whole, simultaneously. At this warm encounter, where you might say that we bared our souls to each other, this was made quite clear. In fact, the two countries can even afford to set aside the border problem while they continue with their integration efforts. No one can accuse the presidents of failing to move forward toward rapprochement

and friendly understanding, although each of the points is being approved at a different pace.

[CARETAS] Great care was taken in Quito to avoid mentioning the protocol of 1942 wherever possible, and it would appear that Ecuador is no longer as emphatic in questioning its validity ....

[Blacker Miller] President Borja clearly stated that both countries should work out their differences in strict accordance with international treaties. I believe that both presidents have behaved heroically with respect to this problem. They have put their political reputations on the line, showing their good intentions. Moreover, the Ecuadoran Foreign Ministry is quite satisfied with the progress. They now realize that it is impossible to expect Peru to ignore the agreements reached in the Protocol.

[CARETAS] How have the various sectors of Ecuador reacted to Peru's proposal, especially politicians?

[Blacker Miller] On the one hand, the military is aware that relations with Peru could not be better; they have a genuine desire to work toward a solution to the border problem. On the other hand, the Ecuadoran politicians are divided. Vladimiro Alvarez, of the Christian Democratic Party, has indicated that the Protocol must be respected and that Ecuador is wasting time on negotiations toward any other end. Abdala Bucaram says that the Protocol is null and void. People in Ecuador say that this man has no national standing, that he belongs to a tiny but noisy party. Besides, one of the candidates with the best chances of success, Raul Baca, supports the current negotiations. Jaime Nebot, in contrast, shares the more radical position favored by Leon Febres Cordero, to the effect that the Protocol is invalid. Despite the divided opinions in the political sector, the popular masses are supportive. This was the most salient aspect of the visit: the warmth of the crowds who supported Rodrigo Borja and Fujimori at all times.

[CARETAS] And how have politicians reacted in Peru?

[Blacker Miller] There were a number of people here who, before the trip and up until today, have taken negative stands on the effort involved in these negotiations. These people will obviously be punished by the circumstances, when the solution turns out to be inevitable. Actually, there were few who came out in support of the rapprochement. Even Senator Manuel Moreyra said that although Rodrigo Borja was careful to seek a prior consensus among his countrymen, Fujimori has been more hasty, taking action before trying to win the approval of the national political sector. I openly disagree with Senator Moreyra on this; he has not tried to find out about and is unaware of the work and the effort that was made, and therefore he is being hasty in making these statements. I worked with a group of eight people at the Foreign Ministry for the last two months to draft a document outlining the four integral proposals. I am also struck by the fact that Senator Moreyra is unaware that I went to the Congress to hold meetings with the Foreign Relations Committees of both houses, at which I discussed the Foreign Ministry's strategies for dealing with the dispute. Before the trip, I met with congressmen to explain to them that we are seeking a rapprochement because we must put an end to the conflict. The fact is that Senator Moreyra did not attend the meetings. I have also met twice with the Advisory Council on Foreign Relations.

Uruguay

Government, People Repudiate Coup in Venezuela

PY1202122692 Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 6 Feb 92 p 12

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Hector Gros Espiell has expressed, in the name of the Uruguayan Government, "total and absolute repudiation of the coup d'etat in Venezuela." The foreign minister has made known "the active solidarity of the Uruguayan Government and people with the legitimate Venezuelan Government and with the Venezuelan people."

He reported that he was in permanent contact with President Luis Lacalle while events were developing in Venezuela, adding that the chief of state ordered the Uruguayan Foreign Ministry to contact the Rio Group's secretariat.

He also indicated that Lacalle had spoken by phone with Colombian President Cesar Gaviria. A declaration of condemnation and repudiation of the coup d'etat and a declaration of congratulations for the people and government of Venezuela for their active reaction to "this antidemocratic coup" were also drafted, he added.

He clarified that the two documents that will emerge from the Rio Group "demonstrate the democratic solidarity of Latin American countries. [no closing quotation mark as published] [passage omitted]

Colorado Party Leader Will Not Join Cabinet

PY1202215892 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 1500 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] During a meeting held with leaders of his faction at the Legislative Palace, Colorado Party leader Jorge Batlle has confirmed that he does not intend to join the cabinet. This decision was conveyed by Batlle to the president of the Republic on 4 February, and later by former Housing Minister Raul Lagos.

He said that they decided to suspend questioning of the new economy minister, adding, however, that the reasons that prompted Congress to summon for questioning former Economy Minister Enrique Braga are still valid. Among the reasons is the lack of measures aimed at joining the Mercosur [Common Market of the South], a situation that was made worse by the executive branch decree on the VAT [Value Added Tax] issued on 30 December and a bill to regularize the debt of the Social Security Bank submitted by the executive branch.

Batlle said: However, we will set a deadline for the new minister to present a draft of his plans and viewpoints. Asked by El Espectador what this deadline would be, Batlle said that it could not be specified. Batlle also stated that he will support all the measures that he advocated during his electoral campaign at a legislative level, such as the state, social security and tax reforms. He said: We will continue to cooperate despite the fact that we have decided to withdraw from the cabinet. He added: We have no faith in a gradualist policy but support a more radial policy such as those of Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina.

He pointed out that the housing minister's resignation was a painful one, considering that he had to build a new ministry and also seek congressional support. Asked whether the Uruguayan people do not support gradualist policies because the many factions that sponsor them [words indistinct] represent the majority with respect to the Batllist faction, Batlle ironically referred to the Batllist forum: They now want to contract a Yugoslav trainer, an allusion to the Penarol soccer team, whose president Washington Cataldi belongs to the Batllist forum.

Batlle also stated that he wanted to maintain direct contact with the parties on the salary policy matter.

Intelligence Directorate To Rotate Between Forces

PY1202124092 Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Excerpt] Military sources have told BUSQUEDA that the idea of rotating the directorship of the Defense Intelligence General Directorate among the Army, Navy, and Air Force in accordance with Article 10 of the Amnesty Law is currently under study.

The directorship has been held by Army generals since 1986, when the military intelligence services were transferred from the commanders in chief of the Armed Forces to the Defense Ministry, as stipulated by the 1974 Military Law. The directorship was occupied by Army officers during the de facto period.

Army sources have indicated that Army General Mario Aguerrondo is the most probable candidate for the post. [passage omitted]

Venezuela

Perez Pledges To Lift Free Speech Ban 14 Feb

PA1202213392 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1712 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Caracas, 12 Feb (DPA)—Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez pledged on 12 February to lift immediately the decree banning freedom of speech that was imposed by the government a few hours after last week's thwarted military coup, press spokespersons have reported.

During an emergency meeting with the principal Venezuelan journalist organizations at the Miraflores Presidential Palace, Perez announced that the decree suspending freedom of speech in Venezuela will be lifted on 14 February.

"We wish to say that, after speaking to the president, he said he will announce to the country the immediate reinstatement of freedom of speech, no later than 14 February," Santiago Betancourt, president of the National Journalists Association (CNP), stated.

Meanwhile, representatives of the CNP and the National Trade Union of Press Workers (SNTP) staged a protest demonstration at the Congress building in downtown Caracas on 12 February to demand a parliamentary debate on freedom of speech.

Perez' decision will end a wave of protests against censorship and police surveillance placed around the principal media in Venezuela following the 4 February thwarted coup. The coup left 20 dead and over 60 injured according to official figures.

The thwarted military revolt, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Chavez, who commanded the assault on the Miraflores Presidential Palace in Caracas, was quelled in less than 10 hours by troops loyal to the constitutional government.

The censorship of local media, including EL DIARIO DE CARACAS and EL NUEVO PAIS, worsened on 10 February when EL NACIONAL was raided and copies were seized. After the incident, Perez announced the censors would be removed from the media, and the editors would be in charge of deciding what reports to publish.

Despite the government's promise, the journalists associations staged a demonstration on 11 February near the Congress in downtown Caracas, demanding that the decree suspending freedom of speech be lifted immediately.

Despite the ban on public meetings, CNP and SNTP representatives staged a new demonstration near the Congress, announcing that they will indefinitely exclude parliamentary and political sources from coverage.

The journalists planned to discuss the right of freedom of speech with congressmen, but authorities barred access to the parliament. Following the incident, SNTP spokespersons appealed to journalists who cover political events "not to write a single line" until political leaders heed the journalists' demands.

Discusses Coup Attempt

PM1202112892 Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Feb 92 p 6

[Report on an interview with President Carlos Andres Perez by Marcel Niedergang in Caracas; date not given]

[Text] Caracas—Iron railings broken down, bullet and rocket holes in the walls, panes of glass broken—the Miraflores Presidential Palace, where Carlos Andres Perez received us, bears the scars of the attack launched by insurrectionists at dawn on 4 February. Tanks with their guns pointed are still in position on the corners of the streets leading to the palace, and the whole area is closed to traffic.

The uprising apparently lacked impetus, support, resources, and men. Mr. Perez, who describes the leaders of the insurrectionist movement as "fascists" and "climbers," hopes that they will be punished "in an exemplary manner." The death penalty has been abolished in Venezuela. The main leader of the uprising, Hugo Chavez, lieutenant colonel in the Parachute Regiment, faces a maximum sentence of 25 years in prison. With his red beret, his athletic Rambo-like appearance, his spectacular surrender—he has so far been treated as an "officer" by his army colleagues—and his insolent macho airs, he aroused conflicting feelings in the population, from which a feeling of admiration is not excluded.

The fact remains that the vast majority of Venezuelans are now giving a sigh of relief and congratulating themselves on having escaped "by the skin of their teeth," according to people in the street, what would have been a blinkered military dictatorship, judging from the very simplistic declarations of intent made by the putschists.

Mr. Perez thinks that he escaped death "miraculously" and said that "the insurrectionists wanted his skin." The story of his journey—from the airport where he had arrived from the economic forum in Davos (Switzerland) to his La Casona residence then to the Miraflores Palace, which he left "in haste" under rebel fire and through an underground passage for the television channel 8 building—at least demonstrates that he is lucky.

Everything was calm at the airport at 2300 hours on Monday evening. "Nobody," he said, "informed me then of any threat at all." At around midnight, Defense Minister General Ochoa called him at La Casona to tell him that a putsch had begun in Maracaibo. "I was then in my pajamas," he said. He dressed, and hurriedly left La Casona for Miraflores. Ten minutes later, the rebels opened fire on that luxury residence to the east of the capital. They already occupied the nearby La Carlota airport. Scarcely had Mr. Perez reached the palace when the insurgents attacked with armed vehicles and aimed at the second-floor window—where the president's suite is situated—and at his ground-floor office. Around 40 guards organized the defense. About 10 of them were killed on the spot.

Gen. Ochoa apparently advised negotiations with the insurgents. "I gave official orders to firmly crush the uprising," Mr. Perez said, "shooting, and more shooting...." When the putschists were finally captured at Miraflores, the president returned to his palace. His three successive appearances on television were, he thinks, "decisive."

He categorically refused to accept that any "malaise in civilian society" could have encouraged the putschists to take action. However, he thinks that "the systematic overdramatization and exploitation by the Venezuelan press of all kinds of accusations, fabricated corruption cases, and the denigration of the political class could have made the insurrectionists feel that the climate was favorable." "There is no case of corruption in my government," he added firmly." "On Wednesday, I summoned all the newspaper and media editors," he explained, "to ask them to take a calmer attitude." The first result of the suspension of constitutional guarantees—implying the introduction of censorship—is that, on Thursday evening, the authorities seized the magazine ZETA, which devoted its cover to Lt. Col. Chavez, who was described as "leader of the Bolivar military movement" during the "night of the red berets."

In its commentary, the magazine added that a "substantial percentage of Venezuelans wanted the insurrectionists to triumph at dawn on 4 February." The population did not, as might have been thought, take to the streets to oppose the putschists. They did not express any special joy after their surrender either. "But nobody," Mr. Perez said, "asked them to mobilize. That would have been crazy. Circumstances are very different from those of the 1958 coup (overthrow of Perez Jimenez' dictatorship—LE MONDE editor's note). I am sure that if we had issued an appeal, the population would have responded. The insurrectionists had no civilian support, at least as far as we know. The central university, which is more or less on strike, did not make any move. Indeed, the so-called social malaise only exists in the capital. Not in the rest of the country at all," he concluded.

Restoration of Constitutional Guarantees Discussed

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[Report by Zaida Pereira]

[Text] Jesus Ramon Carmona, minister of relations with the Congress, has said constitutional guarantees suspended on 4 February will be restored when the government is certain institutional order has returned throughout the country.

Carmona was responding to people who believe the guarantees will be restored on 13 February, when the 10-day term expires

[Begin Carmona recording] This decree and state of emergency will only be in effect, as the president stated, as long as it is absolutely necessary. The country must understand the suspension of guarantees is only a mechanism established by state of law. It is authorized by the Constitution. It is a mechanism whereby the Constitution empowers the executive branch to preserve the basic right to maintain and consolidate the country's democratic system.

When the Constitution is used, when institutional mechanisms are called for, and when the participation of other branches are sought, as the Congress of the Republic in this case, we are operating under the state of law.

The state of emergency is only temporary and will last long enough to allow the executive branch to secure the objectives sought following the suspension of guarantees. These objectives are the consolidation of freedom and democracy.

[Unidentified reporter] Will the state of emergency expire on 13 February?

[Carmona] No term will expire on that date. Obviously, the executive branch had to specify the term suspending the guarantees in the decree submitted to Congress, which was completed a few hours after issuing the decree. [end recording]

Carmona's statements followed a meeting with representatives of the New Democratic Generation Party [NGD]. He was briefed on the NGD position on the 4 February events. Carmona accepted a document on an accord involving political parties, civilian, and military sectors, NGD representative German Febres said.

[Begin Febres recording] We have asked the government to begin a national dialogue facilitating a move from rhetoric to action. We want to solve the problems of common citizens. Despite years of democracy, these problems have not been fully resolved. [end recording]

NGD representatives said they hope this document, although political, would encourage parliamentary discussion.

VENPRESS Reports Attack by Colombian Rebels

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[Text] According to a VENPRESS report, soldiers of the Motorized Squadron based in Puerto Paez, Apure State, repelled a harassment attack by Colombian guerrillas at this border post at midnight [0500 GMT 12 February].

According to the same source, Brigadier General Rafael Montero Revet, commander of the 2d Infantry Division, disclosed the aforementioned information, adding that there is total and absolute calm throughout the territory under his command.